789 [95]MAGIC--thrul (or thul) stan ches (to perform in a general sense) thoosna giap ches(to bring down fire from heaven to consume any thing) nganchhos cho ches (to bewitch, by means of religious charms, etc.), reepSHing or teepSHing (a magical wand-made of a very rare kind of wood, and possessing the virtue of enabling the person holding it, to become invisible).

795 609 MAHOMEDAN--pheepa or Mussalman. The word "pheepa" means "outsider" and is applicable to all persons other than Buddhists, who are called "nangpa" or "insider," but as a matter of fact, Muhammadans are the only persons usually called "pheepa," and the word may therefore be considered as applying to them only.

583 601 MAKPA--Makpa. This is the name given to the husband of a woman who is sufficiently well off to select a husband for herself, instead of being married in the ordinary way. For particulars see under heading "Husband."

412 [96]MALLET--thómálak (iron hammer as for driving in tent pegs) thóa (large sledge hammer) chhombur (the heavy wooden beaters used in Ladák for consolidating new metal on a road or newly laid turf, etc.)

273 MALT--lums. In Ladák, barley (nas) required for malt is cleaned and put into a large cooking pot to a depth of 6 or 8 inches and water is then poured over it, to a depth of about 3 inches. The whole is then boiled gently till the water is absorbed by the barley which is then called "Lums."

The Lums is then taken out of the boiling pan and spread out to cool, after which it is sprinkled with a mixture of powdered ginger cloves and nutmeg, a little yeast (phaps) is also added. The whole is then mixed up and put into a sack, and covered up to keep out the cold.

In about 60 hours it ferments, it is then put into a large earthen vessel for about 18 hours during which time it rises, water is then added, and after 2 hours is drawn off and strained. This is the best kind of "chhang" (beer) and is called "machhoo." After this, water is three times more added and drawn off and strained. The resulting liquors are then mixed up together and sold as "chhang," which is a kind of small bees not much

/11/

DROGPA NAMGYAL'S YOUTH

BEFORE BIRTH

The Exorcism of the 100,000 Child Demons

Quietly the village of Kalatse lies yonder in the Ladakh highland, deeply imbedded between two enormous mountain ridges of the Western Himalayas. Not far away is the Indus which, still a cascading mountain river here, flows by in a deeply cut-out gorge. The village forms a lovely oasis with luxuriant wheat and barley fields, blooming apricot groves in the midst of towering mountain giants, desolate, projecting rock walls and steep declivities formed by deposits. Quietly the fields and the mountains lie there. The only sounds that strike our ear are the rushing of the nearby mountain river in the gorge and the call of the horse drivers who are transporting on the road along the Indus the trading goods of the Indian merchants. Heavily loaded beasts of burden are carrying these goods to the market of the main town of the area, Leh. There is also the monotonous singing of the women who are watering their field terraces over there. Otherwise everything is still. Through the dormer windows in the roofs of the white-washed houses of the Tibetans the smoke rises up to the blue, cloudless sky. Judging by the position of the sun it is about two o'clock in the afternoon, the time at which the Tibetan goes from the field to his house, when the midday soup is cooked and "drunk" and everybody takes an hour of rest and relaxation.

Only in the Dragshos house (1), the house of Lobsang Wanggyal,

1. "Dragshos" is here the name of the house and at the same time the designation of the tribe, the family of the house-owner. Every house in Tibet, and thus also in Ladakh, has its own name by which the present owner can likewise be called. Often the name of the house is prefixed to the name of any one of the members of the family so that the frequently recurring personal names such as "Trashi," "Tsering," "Lobsang," and so forth, can be distinguished from each other. In contrast to the limited number of personal names, which usually have a religious significance, the house names display a great multiplicity. There we have a Cloverfield (Ol-t'an-pa), Oilman (sNum-pa), Cook (Soldpon), Stablemaster (C'ibs-dpon),

552 Ambassador (P'o-nya), and Castlecaptain (K'ar-dpon), the
551 four latter all being titles from the time of the kingdom; furthermore there are animal names like Fox (Wa-tse-pa), Wolf (Śaṅ-ku-pa); finally there are nicknames such as the Chewing-one (K'a-ldags-pa), Break-leg (rKaṅ-cags-pa), Break-skull (mGo-cags-pa), the Thrown-out-one (P'ar-la-p'an), Thief's-son (sKu p'rug), Cat's-mouth (Bi-la-k'a), Liar (Dzun-can), and other in part insulting names

789 which stands there at the foot of the steep cliff below the old castle ruin on the rocky floor of the valley closely nestled in a group of houses, there is lively activity even now during the hot, muggy afternoon. There is the hollow murmur from the rough throats of men, which occasionally /12/ swells to great strength; in between there can be heard dissonant and deep blasts of trumpets and the beating of drums. Five lamas (Buddhist monks) in red cowls from the nearby monastery Lamayuru are crouched there in the large living room-kitchen of the house with their legs folded under them on rough carpets made of goats' hair. In front of each one of them, on small tables no higher than a footstool and carved with beautiful designs, there are two piles of loose leaves which belong to a book. They are all reading at one and the same time in a loud, grating voice, each one from the leaf which happens to be lying in front of him. When a leaf is finished, it is placed on the pile of leaves that have been read. The leaves made of Tibetan paper were once grey. Now the paper is covered with a blackish layer gleaming with fat, especially in those places where they have come into contact with the lamas' fingers.

With the wild confusion of everybody reading at the same time it is impossible for us to make rhyme or reason of what is being read. Only here and there does our ear catch a few words: "Jis don bum (Tibetan: byis gdon abum)," "The 100,000 child demons!" Then we can make out here and there a few mysterious Sanskrit formulas and syllables, "Om! Hum! Shri!" Magical formulas, powerful exorcising words, partly in Tibetan, and partly in the old sacred Sanskrit language.

It is out of the question that the inhabitants of the house might be listening attentively. How would they ever be able to understand this babel of voices, after all? The evil spirits for whom these phrases of exorcism are designed will undoubtedly make some sense of them and feel their effect, so they think. They themselves go quietly about

their work inside and near the house. The mother of the owner of the house, the good Tsering Putrid, and the owner's sister, are busily occupied at the stove, which is in the same room, in order to serve the red-cowled men with food and drink. They are continually pouring butter-tea with a ladle from a large copper pot into the little drinking bowls placed on the tables in front of the monks. With that the lamas are eating fried barley flour (tsampa), which they knead themselves with their fingers in the bowls into a dough (kollag) by mixing it with the tea; as well as flat cakes baked without yeast and made with the flour of wheat. Towards evening the lamas receive another plentiful meal with mutton and vegetables. With it they drink barley beer (chang) /13/ which they heartily enjoy, as they do the meat, in spite of the interdict of the monastic rule. In order to expiate the guilt which they incur by eating the meat and with it the shared guilt of killing an animal, they add a special prayer to the customary prayer after dinner. After they have prayed from themselves and all their people in all six levels of existence, that they may never be separated from the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, the Law, and Monkhood), and that they may all some day attain to the dignity of Buddha, they add another request that the sheep that has been killed may be reborn in heaven. In this manner the members of the "sacred community of monks" appease their consciences and do not let any grey hair grow on their cleanly shaved heads over the matter. After all they have not killed any sheep with their own hand, so that the responsibility for killing lies with others.

But what is the purpose of this ceremony which lasts an entire day? In the house of Lobsang Wanggyal there is expected the arrival of an heir to the family in the very near future. It will undoubtedly be a boy. The onpo, the soothsayer and astrologist in neighboring Lamayuru, has definitely assured the happy "expectant father" of this. The onpo, after all, is the one to know. He has read it from the stars and from his complicated tables, and he has calculated it that way, something which only such a clever man as the onpo can do.

Now the life of the Tibetan is menaced even before his entrance into this world of woe, as it is throughout the entire time of his stay on earth, by thousands upon thousands of evil spirits of the most varied kinds. The first to approach the child which is about to be born, in this its earliest stage of life, and which approach it with treacherous intent, are the 100,000 child demons. These must be exorcised, for from them the developing human being is threatened with the 24

789 [262] [273] [783] [787] [776]

789 dangers which must be averted. This exorcism is accomplished by the lamas through the reading of that book with its powerful exorcising formulas, through magical gestures, through the swinging of the bronze thunderbolt (dorje) and of the magical bell, as well as through the blasts of trumpets and the beats of the drum. This display of power is too much even for the hundred thousand, so that the latter have to yield the field.

By the time the day draws to a close and the sun has gone down in the west /14/ over there behind the jagged cliffs, everyone of the lamas has read through his pile of leaves; at the end there is still a lone straggler who reads by himself, an unpractised novice who still lacks the necessary experience in reading fast. A few more powerful "Om, hum, shri!"--boom, boom, boom! the great drum joins in resoundingly once more. Then everything becomes still. The "battle" has been won. The 100,000 child demons have been beaten and have, as the oldest lama confidently assures Lobsang Wanggyal, fled far away. The expected son and heir may now make his entrance into this evil world with good cheer. He has nothing more to fear from those hundred thousand.

The novice arranges the leaves of the pad according to the numbers printed on them, lays them with loving care between the two wooden covers and ties the book together with leather belts. The red-cowled men pour down a few more bowls of beer, then the lord of the house places a piece of money in the hand of each of them, and then the "victors" march off with a satisfied air. It was a successful day: it brought them "victory" and plenty to eat.

Lobsang Wanggyal calculates the expenses. They were considerable: the holy brothers consumed almost half a sheep, and in addition several pounds of rice, a lot of vegetables, apricots, flour, butter, and tea; and on top of that the money! Well, Lobsang Wanggyal can afford it; he is, even if not rich, at least the best-to-do farmer in the village. He has three horses and several yaks, a considerable number of cows, sheep, goats and donkeys, and the trade by exchange which takes him in the summer of every year to the distant highland steppes, to the nomads of Jangtang, also brings in a fair profit, and this past year it was particularly profitable. Thus he does not rue the expenses so long as the expected heir of the house remains protected from evil spirits and brings good fortune to the dwelling.

787 Tsan demons (4) and the witches of the mountains are enraged. This

[776] 4. The red Tsan (Tibetan btsan) demons' lords ride through the clouds over the mountains as harnessed riders with their wild army like Woden's Wild Chase /I presume "Wodes" to refer to Woden's or Odin's. --translator./. These demons

• [789] send sickness and death to the people at whom they are angry by shooting arrows at them. In order to keep them away the Tibetan paints his doorposts as well as stone blocks which are placed in front of the house, red; he also fastens slips of paper with exorcising formulas written on them above his house door and from time to time he has the lamas exorcise the dreaded demons by diverse means.

is going to be something. Alala! Wait, my little boy! I'll write a prescription for you all right."

The devil-tamer takes a long, narrow strip of paper in his hand and, crouching on his mat and holding the paper skillfully between the fingers of his left hand, he writes down what has been confided to him concerning the fate of the little son of Lobsang Wanggyal jointly by the stars, his secret signs and numbers, as well as by his inventive imagination. Lobsang Wanggyal had been in to see him in the morning and had asked him for a horoscope (5) of his first born.

5. Prognostication of one's fate from the stars and by means of magical secret signs.

On leaving, the anxious father had pressed two rupees (equals 2.70 Reichsmark) into the soothsayers's hand, with the words: "Do a good job." All right, All right, don't worry. I'll take care of it. Tomorrow morning you can come and pick up the horoscope," the onpo had replied and had winked at him in a familiar and sly manner.

And so the devil-tamer writes down the following: "This boy, son of Lobsang Wanggyal, was born in the wood-tiger year (6).

805 177 6. The Tibetans took over from the Chinese the moon year with twelve moon months (of 30 days each) and 360 days. But in order to make this short year always correspond again to the sun year, frequently a day, even an entire extra month, must be inserted. Thus the year that corresponded to 1933,

775 by means of an invisible cable, unless the cable should happen to be torn.

787 out of the earth. The mighty earth spirits (Sa-dbag) under their queen
[782] Sai Lha-mo (the earth goddess) and the mighty Lu-Gods (water deities) have been unleashed and they are enraged. In order to ward off all these spirits many little clay chortens (8) must be made. Furthermore

778 8. Chorten (mčod-rten), literally offering containers, in Sanskrit stupa chaitya, are hallowed constructions which were first erected in India to the memory of Buddha or of great holy men, and which often contain relics. They are in three parts: one long cone-shaped upper part, a bulbous middle part, and a square, wide base with several steps. Through the consecration of each new chorten by the priest, the building supposedly becomes animated by the spirit of Buddha and it is then worshipped by the Buddhists. The chorten is constructed in all sizes, from a building as large as a house to the miniature chorten which is only a few centimeters in height; their construction is regarded as meritorious work, as is the circling around the Stupa by the "believers."

a large sacrificial cake (gtor-ma) must be baked for the Sai Lhamo, and finally numerous pills made from bread dough (klu-stor) especially for the Lu-Gods of the /21/ well and the village lake must be scattered into these waters as a sacrificial offering.

The Sparka sign for "earth" likewise indicates that the spirits of the earth and the earth goddess are angered. In that case great caution is demanded. Beware of digging in the earth or building a house in the coming year! Do not plant any beets, nor should you eat any beets. Do not cross over a freshly plowed field after sundown.

787 The mighty Tsan-demons of the mountains are also of hostile
● 789 disposition and will try especially in the sixth month to harm the child. Be on your guard! Never set out in a southwesterly or in a northeasterly direction! The book of the "100,000 Water gods" (klu-abum), and also "The Sacred, Golden Light of the Conquest of the Don spirits" must be read in your house by the lamas in order to exorcise these demons.

The Mewa sign is the Kumar sign. That confirms that the

Tsan spirits and also the witches have become angered. Against this 787
you should make a cross of strings which closes the portal of earth 789
and the portal of heaven, and you should have the book of the "Golden Light of Help against the Demons' (9) read.

9. The Tibetan title of the book is: gser 'od gnyan skyabs.

Finally everything is written down. The onpo hastily scans 787
his work once more with an examining eye. In particular the devil-tamer's gaze lingers with satisfaction upon the numerous crosses which are portents of misfortune. This will mean good business; and after all the Dragschos can pay for it. Now the soothsayer smears some ink from his copper inkwell on the ball of his thumb with his reed pen, and on this "stamping pad" he presses his iron seal. Then he stamps his seal at the bottom of the document and mounts it on a silk cloth. Now everything is ready. With a satisfied air the devil-tamer rolls the document up and puts aside the roll, which contains good fortune and bad fortune for an unsuspecting child, ready for its anxious father.

The next morning Lobsang Wanggyal comes to get the horoscope of his little son and begins to study its dark contents, with which the onpo eagerly assists him. The young father assumes a worried expression at the thought of all the books that are to be read and of the expensive offerings and cermonies which are connected with it. Such reading requires a number of /22/ days during which he will have to provide the lamas with food and to pay them. He politely reminds the soothsayer of his promise and of the rupees paid to him in advance and mumbles something to himself: This is not the way he had imagined things to turn out. "Oh, just be glad, honored sir, that I have warned you in time with my horoscope of the threatening dangers that you know exactly how you can ward them off. Otherwise all these dangers would have broken in upon the child like wolves upon an unsuspecting sheep; in that case there would have been nothing to rescue it any more." Lobsang Wanggyal is silent; he rolls up the ex- 436
pensive document and pays the devil-tamer five rupees which the latter examines carefully one by one and which he then throws up with practised fingers over a block of stone, letting them fall so that they strike it, in order to test their genuineness by the sound they make (10).

10. In India there exists a widespread practice of forging

near Leh, and he exercised a very powerful influence in his day. 712

So much depends upon the proper name. His poor neighbor, to save 753
expense, had chosen the names for his recently born son himself with the aid of the wise women of his tribe and of a lama who was related to him. "Sodnam Drandul" he had named his offspring. The first name (Sodnam, which is "merit") designates its bearer as a pious Buddhist who places value upon the gaining of virtuous merits; the second name (Drandul, which is "tamer of enemies") was to overcome by its magical power all enemies which might oppose themselves to its bearer, especially the innumerable evil spirits in the air, on earth, and under the earth. A powerful name works wonders as a protective means. But Lobsang Wanggyal wanted to proceed with certainty. Such a holy, wise, and powerful skushog as Bakula could, after all, read quite differently in the pages of the dark future and would be able to avert threatening misfortune by a suitable name and by other means. After three days of traveling the Dragshos arrived at the monastery Spitug 753
/sic./. He was lucky; he was soon admitted into the presence of the 712
mighty one, a man in his middle years, corpulent, with a closely shaved head and an intelligent facial expression. With legs crossed under him he was sitting in his abbot's cell on a raised, flat seat covered with carpets He was clothed with garments of heavy, yellow Chinese silk. In the presence of several serving lamas in the red dress of their order Bakula received the Dragshos. Lobsang Wanggyal handed one of the lamas a ka-btags (greeting band), a copper plate with dried apricots, almonds and sugar on it, as well as a rupee in silver, which the lama placed in front of the skushog. Now Lobsang Wanggyal bowed deeply three times before the holy man and with both hands embraced the latter's legs. The holy man thereupon accorded his blessing to the /24/ suppliant with a negligent movement of the hand. Then he presented him with a narrow, yellow strip of silk with a knot [789] ●
in it, a "magical knot" (gzuns-mdud), over which he had first repeated a powerful formula (gzuns) while breathing upon it. The recipient of this knot immediately fastened it as a protecting amulet to his cap.

But the Dragshos was not yet satisfied with this. Only now did he come forth with his real request and he added to it, that his little son already had fallen sick once of a bad intestinal disease, something which the angered water gods had probably afflicted him with. He was thinking in this case of his experience while watering his garden

Battle Against Sinister Powers.

326 On one of the next days the village smith came to the courtyard in order to put the hoes and the plow in order for the cultivation [262] of the fields. At the midday meal he also received his ample share of butter tea and of baba, a thick, boiled flour porridge which is eaten with melted butter. But the smith had to eat apart from the row of [783 776] inhabitants of the house; for if he had seated himself with them close to the stove in the livingroom-kitchen, the house god (p'a-lha) and the hearth god (t'ab-lha) would have become angered and would have sent disease and misfortune to the inhabitants in their house. While ●789 the people were still slurping their butter tea, the young mother entered 326 with little Drogpa Namgyal in her arms. "še-pa, še-pa! Da rgod-cig! Darling, darling! Smile for us!" she was saying to him. Then old Tsering Putrid called out to her daughter-in-law: "Put the child on the lap of the Garra (smith) and let it drink from his kore (drinking bowl); then it will become a real Garprug (smith's son); if then a Tsan or Lu should come, it will notice by the smell that the child has been with the Garra and it will take it for a real child of a smith and keep away from it, because even a demon may not touch a dirty Garra. It will be better to bear a little disgrace than to know it in constant danger of the evil /20/ powers. After all, you never can tell-- --!" The sage advice of the grandma was carried out in spite of all the yelling and kicking of the little one, who did not want to get near the black man with the sooty face on any account. But all felt something like relief when the Garra with a sour-sweet smile took the child for a few moments in his arms and let it sip from his tea. His effort was thereupon rewarded by a few more bowls of the best fat butter tea and a whole pile of flat bread cakes, as well as by a number of small silver coins. For this he also took the insulting aspects of the matter into the bargain.

852 When little Drogpa Namgyal was a year old, a lama related to the family appeared in the house one day, solemnly sat down on the carpet, unwrapped a book from the folds of the cloth of his wide scarf and began to read aloud. While he was reading and consuming, in between, ample amounts of the butter tea that was served him, the mother, with the help and advice of the mother-in-law, energetically rubbed butter on the little round head, which already had quite a dense crop of black hair, till it gleamed like a rind of bacon. Then the mother had to sit down with the little one close to the lama; the

241 out in the open and is always set up at the foot of a mountain slope at a place exposed to the wind. Its floor consists of loam that has been stamped down or else it is covered with large sheets of slate. Admidst singing, loud shouting, and blows the four-legged threshers are driven continually in a circle around the post until the grain has been trodden out by their hoofs--not in the cleanest of ways, to be sure. Then the grain is winnowed during a moderate wind, upon which occasion everybody joins in singing a not unlovely, monotonous song (las-gso, which means "incitement to work"), which is also to be heard accompanying most common labors which require bodily strain. Once the grain has [415] been cleaned by winnowing, firm sacks woven from goat or yak hairs are filled with it, and it is carried into the house. Here it is poured into the large containers constructed of slabs of slate. After the last sack has been poured out, the master of the house presses a large seal in loam with a signet carved out of wood onto the joint between the wood cover and the edge of the container. The Buddhistic hooked [789] cross (swastika) on the seal is supposed to guard the valuable crop from the hand of thieves through its magical power, and it actually does guard it because the thief is afraid of its magic. /There follow, after p. 32, two full-page illustrations, the firs with the subtitle, "Tibetan children"; the second with "Inhabitants of Ladakh."/ /33/ The granary is in the lowest story of the house, just underneath the household temple.

868 In this way the boy, through his sharp powers of observation, became acquainted with all the activities which are connected with the cultivation of the soil in those inhospitable mountains, and gradually he gained an insight into the heavy battle which the Tibetan farmer must wage with the forces of nature. In his imagination these forces of nature turn into animated beings, spirits, gods, demons, and goblins. The boy also heard from the narratives of his parents and neighbors how man so often succumbed in this battle because, as they said, the dreadful powers were unconquerable for the ordinary human being. But the lively lad also learned early to join in the work, and with great zeal he took part in the labors in which his strength permitted him to participate, until finally he was able to perform all types of work and became an efficient Tibetan farmer.

372 Drogpa Namgyal was even more eager to climb with his father or with a relative into the mountains to gather "wood" than he was to go into the fields. At least the, called it a wood, although it was ooo often no more than small shrubs which served as fuel. It was extremely

538 weather-beaten face and dressed in an old, dirty coat which was very badly worn at the bottom, started telling some of his tales. The boy listened intently as he told of the old kings and heroes which after their death had become gods, of the mighty king Kesar and his heroic deeds, of gods and demons, nymphs and dwarfs who lead their existence in mountain and dale, in lake and in marsh.

"Can you see the old, knotty poplar there at the edge of the brook," the old man asked, "and can you see the lhato underneath, the roughly built altar of unhewn stone? Yes! You can also see the tall pile of 776 horns of ibexes and wild sheep, which have been stacked on top of /41/ it, and the twigs of juniper, wild roses and the little colored flags with the prayers and formulas of exorcism printed on them, which the lamas have made and which we have then stuck on there. On this altar and in the tree there lives Yul-Lha, the god of the village. Usually he is favorably inclined towards us; only one may not provoke him by taking something away from the altar or by breaking off a twig from the gods' tree (lha-śin),* or by dirtying the place. Then Yul-Lha becomes angered [782] and sends sickness and death to our cattle. You can see over there the little bowls with sacrificial offerings, barley, rice, beer, and also flowers; we bring such gifts to the god in order to incline him favorably towards us. Once he has become very angered at us and has sent misfortune and sickness into the village, we have a few lamas invoke and [784] exorcize the Lha; then he is intimidated and we again remain undisturbed by him for a while.

Have you ever looked carefully at the picture of your household god in the house temple of your father? Above your house door there is also a small picture of him: a human figure with a pig's head. The god is wrapped in a wide, flying mantle which is open in front; in one hand he bears a victory banner (rGyal-mt san), in the other a trident. This P'a-Lha (ther Fathers' God) is also a powerful deity, and [782] one must be careful to remain in his favor. You will have noticed that your father or your mother let dry twigs of a juniper tree glow away slowly over redhot charcoals in an earthen bowl on the house roof every morning. That is the smoke offering to the P'a-Lha. The latter protects the house and the sacred hearth, keeps away other hostile spirits by frightening them through his terrible grunting and by his magical powers, lest they should bring bad luck and disease into the house. But one must be extremely careful not to provoke the P'a-Lha. When in anger he is terrible. The P'a-Lha is enraged if an impure person, a Muslim, a smith, a Beda or a Kristan (Christian) should enter the house or should even

5: Ribbach--59 a M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

792
789

/Following page 64/

Lama with a magical bell and a magical dagger

with the lucky arrow (mda-dar) (62) in his hand; to the arrow are 585

62. Literally "arrow with flag." Sometimes there are five little flags of various colors fastened to the lucky arrow.

fastened a long strip of white, gauze-like material and a small metal mirror. Then follow the four other Nyaopa in order, with the remaining dpa-bo and dpa-mo; further there marches the manager (nyer-dpon) of the wedding, a neighbor of the Dragshos, who is an expert in the secrets of Tibetan cooking and who has taken it upon himself to prepare, with a whole staff of helpers, the various wedding feasts of the following days at a considerable fee. Then comes the bridegroom with his father Lobsang Wanggyal, and the two uncles Stobsldan and Tsang Sodnam. From the neighboring houses the procession is now joined by relatives and members of the clan, men and women; the ones bring clay dishes with glimmering frankincense, the others jugs of beer. Plates with flour, barley and rice are also brought out. All contributors put their gifts down on the ground and the Nyaopas dance around them three times in a circle. Then the best men, led by the sNatridpa, step forward and strew and throw some of the gifts up in the air: a food and drink offering to the village and house gods so that they may be favorably inclined towards the marriage and will not harm the expected bride. The best men are all the more energetic in this activity since the nyer-dpon (manager) has promised them /78/ half a rupee's worth of bakshi if they do it well.

Thereupon the procession starts. First it goes to the lhato, the 585 altar and living quarters of the village god (yul-lha) at the mouth of 789 the side valley there under the large, wide-branched poplar at the edge of the watering trench. The old devil-tamer Dud-joms, whom they also cannot get along without today, had gone to the spot. There he stands by the lhato and looks intently at the white-washed altar, at the horns of wild sheep and ibex that are piled up there and the twigs of tamarisks and juniper trees which are stuck between the horns. He stares as though he could see the Lha bodily before him. In the one hand he swings the magical dagger (p'ur-ba) and also the magical bell and in the other hand he holds the little rattling drum made of human skulls. He invokes the Lha and exorcizes him by powerful formulas as well as by the power of his magical dagger and of the music. Stobsldan plants a new flag with printed formulas of exorcism among those already present, places a few dishes with rice and barley

585 below at the edge of the altar. Then he calls out loud and the entire
789 chorus of those around him joins in the piercing yell: "Kye, kye, gsol, gsol, lha rgyal-lo! (Oh, oh, we call upon you, we call upon you! You, god, have conquered (the hostile demons)."

585 Finally the entire company mounts the horses that have been held in readiness, and in a comfortable amble they ride through the gorge and over the plateau towards Tingmogang. The day before, a whole crowd of men and women had already traveled there, heavily laden with carrying baskets containing clay jugs of beer, bread, flour, meat and other provisions. Within an hour and a half the riders have
361 reached the edge of the plateau, where it drops down steeply to the valley that cuts deep into the mountain. In the valley lies the large double village Teya-Tingmogang, where the wedding celebration is to take place today. Desolate and bare the mountain scenery lies before them, only down in the wide bottom of the valley can one see here and there a group of willow trees, poplars, and apricot trees which now in winter stand bare of leaves. Valley and slopes are covered with snow. Among the houses of the farmers which lie scattered in groups
342 down in the valley, the large, stately house of /79/ Norbu Wangchug, the Chirpon house, is quite conspicuous. It has a flat roof, projecting open balcony like all the other houses, but it is much larger and better built; the windows are larger too, and closed off with lattices. None of the houses has glass windows.

585 The procession of Kalatse people has now descended the steep path from the plateau and is slowly moving to the Chirpon house. From all houses and from the flat roofs the riders are greeted with "žu, žu, no-no-pa-le! (good day, good day, you gentlemen)." Now they have arrived at a fork in the road. The train halts before any one of its
[776] riders has passed this fork. Here a road devil (lam-bgegs) leads his
[782] existence. The dreaded devil must be appeased by an offering of incense and scattering (of barley and beer) and by a dance. The same thing is repeated two more times until they have arrived at the Chirpon house far up in the valley.

Now the procession of Kalatse people stands before the gate of the large farmyard. It is locked. The bridegroom and his followers are not given a friendly welcome. From the yard they can hear a loud babel of voices, excited talking back and forth of the men, giggling and joking of the women. The Chirpon people are gathered in the courtyard with their entire tribe, but they do not admit the Nyaopas who now request permission to enter in order to demand the bride for

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The people of the Chirpon house:

The tune was good! /or, "The way (of doing) was good"/

Now the Nyaopas are given a number of riddles in the form of songs by the Chirpon people:

Who measures the heavens' space,
Who the ether's space? (68)

68. Here the dictating Tibetan has, I believe, erroneously dictated "dbyibs-kyi ajal" instead of "dbyins-kyi ajal," or else the copyist made a mistake. That latter version fits much better into the context, and so I translated it as in the first line.

Say, who did measure out
The span from East to West?
And who did measure out
The span from South to North?
Who may have plumbed the depth?
And who measured the height?
Say, who measured the glacier mountain?
Who the slate rock?
Who measured the A and Om (69)

69. A and Om--two mystical syllables much used in prayers and in invocations to the gods and to Buddha. They are supposed to possess secret divine powers. [789]

In their depth and content?
Who did measure out the plateau?
Who the lower valley?
/33/ Say, who took the village's measurement?
Who measured out the home and dwelling place?
And with what measure?
Who measured the inside and the outside world?
And with what measure?

585 The Nyaopas answer:
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Heaven's space and ether's space
Are measured by sun and moon.
The sun, the screen of the throne, measures
East and West.
And the measurement of South and North.
Is taken by the white moon.
Rainfall and damp dew
Measure height and depth.
Glacier mountain and slate rock
Were measured by the Glacier Lioness.
The two syllables hum and pad (70)

[789]

70. hum and pad are two more magical syllables.

Measure A and Om.
Plateau as well as lower valley
Were measured by the chilly wind.
King and minister probably did measure
The castle and the village,
Home and dwelling place were measured for us
By our ancestors.
Seven brothers then did measure
Both inner and outer space.

The Chirpon people in the yard call out:

Good, you mighty friends!

Now the people in the yard sing the song of the Osier Switch (71):

71. With the osier switches the Nyaopas were beaten whenever they gave unsatisfactory answers.

The turquoise-colored switch in my hand,
Whose home is India,
Grew up in the heart of Tibet
And grew to be strong and firm at the Dogri (72).

72. Name of a mountain.

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The power of the white lioness' heart is in it.
Her gall is mixed with it;
Sparrow's quarrelsomeness is also in it,
And some of its gall is also mixed with it.
See, hence comes the drinkers' desire for quarrel.
See also the sheep's stupidity in it,
For sheep's gall is also mixed with it.
Does your dullness not come from that?
If a noble person gifted with good sense
/101/ And of high rank should come--we should invite him to the chang.
The Nyaopa brothers, too, the seven (110), we invite.

110. Compare not 102.

To a weakling we serve no beer.
If a noble person drinks it, it turns into life's elixir (111),

111. The life's elixir, really devil's elixir (Tibetan bdud-rtsi; Sanskrit amrita) plays an important part in the magical literature (Tantra) and in popular belief. Gods and men fight for this precious material which confers immortality, or at least a long life and magical powers. [789]

To the mean person it only works as a stupefier.

The people:

"Good, you noble gentlemen!"

Again the people from Kalatse sing:

Such beer is not for us. Scatter it up to the sky!
If the sky takes it, we shall drink the beer.
Such beer is not for us. Scatter it up the rocks!
If it runs up the rock, we shall drink the beer.
Such beer is not for us. Scatter it up to the glacier!
If a piece of ice so much as the size of a mirror (112) should melt, we'll drink.

112. A small, round metal hand mirror, the size of a serving

585 girl had a good figure, something which the wide, billowing dress could not conceal; her facial traits were regular /105/, the Mongolian elements in them were just barely suggested. The moment that the bride left the room in which she was dressed the sNatridpa stepped up to her, followed by the Trashispa and the other Nyaopas. The former held the bridal hat (zwa-mo) in his hand, a large felt hat trimmed with otter fur (sram). The sNatridpa put this hat on the bride's head and attached a long wishing band (k'a-btags) which in three places was tied into bows, along the edge of the hat. Now he led the bride by the hand into the chansa where in the meantime the relatives and the clan of the bride and the bridegroom had gathered. There a beautiful yarkand carpet was spread out in front of the stove. On this 739 carpet a lama had made a magical circle of good fortune (dga-dkyil) in the form of a rosette, from barley grains. Chosskyid (the bride) was now supposed to sit down on this circle. In front of her on a small table were placed bowls full of tea, beer, and rice: the farewell meal in the house of her parents. The power of the magical circle on which she was sitting was to have the effect that in her new home she would not lack in any of these good things. The bride had to consume a little bit of all these things.

Thereupon two uncles of the bride stepped into the middle of the room and stretched (as they had already done once at the holchang) the bridal rope (ras-t'ag, rag-t'ag) diagonally across the room. On this rope they again hung the clothes and the ornaments belonging to the bride. The rest of the things of the bride's trousseau were placed underneath the rope on the floor. Everything was then ceremoniously presented to the sNatridpa and the two uncles of the bridegroom together with a list of the objects (zon-yig), with the aid of which the two uncles carefully checked and counted them to see whether everything was in order.

585 Now the five lamas come down from the roof, where they have still been occupied with their ceremonies. They are now to perform the 789 ceremony which is intended to secure the good fortune of the bride and her relatives, and to break the spell of the hostile demons. The abbot of the Lamayuru monastery with four other monks places himself across from the bride who is sitting on the carpet above the magical circle; in his right hand the abbot holds the luck-bringing arrow (mda-dar) decorated with colored ribbons; in his left hand he has the holy water vessel made of copper (bum-pa), in whose narrow neck /106/ is stuck a peacock's feather. Now the abbot sprinkles the bride with holy

saffron water from the vessel; then he swings the vessel with the feather several times around above the girl's head. Then he invokes the village and household gods and the demon princes with their vast army, and conjures them with powerful texts not to inflict any harm upon the bride and her family, and not to let good fortune escape with the bride from the parental house. In chorus the lamas murmur their formulas of exorcism, first mumbling dully to themselves, then more and more loudly they swing about the thunderbolt and the magic dagger, the bell, the kettle-drum, and the cymbals which they hold in their hands sound softly at first, then--they swell, growing increasingly loud, to a deafening noise; the lamas call out:

From the East may good fortune come!
From the West may good fortune come!
From the North may good fortune come!
From the South may good fortune come!
Yan-agug! May good fortune come!

"Yan-agug! Yan-agug!" the bystanders join in in shouting. "Yan-agug! Yan-agug!" all of them yell, shout in confusion for two or three minutes. Then everything suddenly becomes still.

Now the lamas lead the bride up to the house temple to take leave from the household gods. Three times the girl prostrates herself before the statues and images of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods and demons. From that moment on the young woman is no longer permitted to set foot inside the parental household sanctum; from now on she enters into the tutelary and power domain of the gods of her husband's household. The jealousy of the deities of both households must be guarded against.

Then everyone descends to the chansa, and now the bagrogs and dsamo (the bridesmaids and her girl friends) lead the bride so that she may take leave of her parents who, together with the closest relatives, are already expecting her. Bowing down deep, crying loud and sobbing, Chosskyid embraces the legs of her mother, of her father, of her brothers, as well as those of her closest relatives and amid much bowing, at the same time knocking her wrists together so that the shell rings clatter, she calls out: "Farewell! Farewell! Do not forget

/Following page 106 there is a full-page illustration with the caption: "Parting ceremony after the wedding. The lamas implore the gods for good luck on behalf of the bride (with bridal hat). (Tibetan Original

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/Following page 106/

Parting ceremony after the wedding. The lamas implore the gods for good luck on behalf of the bride (with bridal hat). (Tibetan Original Drawing).

apricots as wedding presents. The sNatridpa quickly touches the gifts with his finger as a sign of gratitude. 585

The people from Kalatse together with the bridal couple now press for the ride back home. The horses, which have long been saddled, are brought to the spot; the horses designated for the bride and groom are equipped with beautiful bridles and have colored Yarkand saddle cloths. All the people from Kalatse, at least insofar as they are still capable after /108/ the strenuous drinking, follow on horse, even if this is a very laborious undertaking for some of the men. The train is headed by the sNatridpa at whose side rides the Trashispa; then follows the bridegroom (bag-po) with one of the Nyaopas, behind him the bride with one of the bridesmaids; then follow the remaining Nyaopas, the relatives and the friends of the bridegroom in pairs. At the next fork in the road a hasty scattered offering is again presented to the devil of the road (lam-bgegs): a few handfuls of barley so that he will not inflict any harm upon the bride who is now leaving her birthplace. Now the train proceeds, amid loud conversations and light-hearted singing, right across the wide valley and over the bridge which arches over the village brook. Here they scatter another offering into the brook for the water gods so that they will let the bride pass unmolested; then they move along the steep path up the precipice to the plateau. The sun has long gone down, dusk lies over the mountain and the plain; the night wind blows and howls from the west over the desert, the mountains and ridges which surround them. The loud talking and the singing of the people returning home is silenced, everyone thinks again of the terrible Tsan and Gongpo (demons) who are especially hostile to wedding processions. The riders, ordinarily plucky men who are used to braving the dangers of the wild mountains, cluster together. Those who were lagging behind rush up hurriedly; fear has seized everyone, heated by the beer the brains paint images of terror before their mind's eye: the wild chase of the Tsan king races through the clouded sky. Many a one feels for his amulets to see if they are still hanging properly around his neck and at his cap. Many a one prays an "Om-ma-ni-pad me hum!" between chattering teeth. Then suddenly the moon rises above the jagged mountain massif yonder in the East and pours its faint light over the mountain waste. Now the hearts of the people are somewhat relieved and in a rapid amble they ride towards their destination.

Finally they reach Kalatse; but the house of the bridegroom may not yet be entered. At a crossing of the paths on the plateau to the side of the village everybody dismounts. First an offering meal 585 789

585 789 must be presented to the gods and the demons of the bride's new dwelling place, in order to put them into a favorable mood lest they should oppose the new arrival. The abbot who had come along with /109/ four of his monks because he knew that there was still work for him to do, steps up to the crossing of the ways; on a copper plate he holds three little lamps (mčod-kaṅ) in the shape of a chalice made of bread dough. Butter has been put into the hollow at the top, a wick has been put inside the butter, which was then lighted. Now the abbot steps before the bride, holding in his right hand the bronze thunderbolt (dorje) and the magic bell (dril-bu), and in his left hand the plate with the little burning lamps. Three times he swings them slowly in a circle around the head of the bride who is crouching before him and exorcizes the demons with the following words: "None of the male or female G[illegible] 776 Gong (122), none of the male or female Dre, the Tsan, the Dud, none

122. The names cited here designate various kinds of demons.

of the 80,000 Gegs devils, none of the 424 kinds of Don with their entire following may ever harm this bride! May they eat their fill from this meal and then each one go to his place!" After this exorcism from the mouth of the abbot, in which the four other lamas join in with deep, rumbling voices, the instruments start up again with a shrill sound. A lama novice relieves the abbot of the three little lamps made of bread dough and flings them among the blocks of stone lying around by the crossing of the paths. Then another lama hands the abbot a clay pot (dza-blug) into which have been put all kinds of shabby remnants of the wedding feast: used tea leaves (ja-ro), brewer's grain (sbaṅ-ma), remains of onions, garlic, radishes, a few bones that have been picked, and a piece of fur from one of the sheep that was consumed. The abbot places himself with the pot in front of a stone block on which a lama had previously drawn the figure of two crossed thunderbolts (rdo-rje rgya-dram), flings the pot with its appetizing content against the stone so that it breaks into pieces and the contents are scattered about. Now the demons may eat their fill from these "delicious" things and then they are to go each to his proper place (123).

123. This treatment of the demons on the part of the Tibetan lamas is reminiscent, as many of their defensive measures against the dieties are, of the conception of the "stupid devil" which one encountered until recent times also among the

German people. The sly person was able, according to this conception, to outwit and ward off the devil by means of all kinds of tricks. 585 789

During this activity of the lama magicians the bridegroom and the bride stand facing them with their hands folded over their breast and with their heads bent forward. After the exorcism the abbot reads one more prayer to the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and tutelary spirits, asking for happiness and prosperity for the young couple; a prayer to the benign goddess Drolma (Tara) asking for the blessing of offspring. In so doing /110/ he again swings his magical bell and the dorje, as well as a small hand drum made of human skulls. Finally the abbot throws a few handfuls of rice over the bride and bridegroom as a symbol of fertility (124), while the lamas are performing on their instruments.

124. Compare the very similar custom at weddings in England.

Finally the procession moves on to the Dragshos house, the future dwelling place of the young married couple. Led by sNatridpa the bride enters the house followed by the bridesmaids. They pass through the dark stable, up the stone steps, and stand in front of the chansa. There the bride stops in front of the opened door and pretends to cry and to refuse to enter. Not till she has received the gift of one rupee from the sNatridpa, does she consent to enter and her "crying" stops (125). In the chansa the bride now greets the bridegroom's 585

125. This custom is not to be considered as having originated from the desire to exact money; rather it is to be interpreted as a symbolic expression for the fact that only through purchase does the bride enter into the possession of the bridegroom.

parents and relatives who have finally also arrived together with the bridegroom. The bride bows low, embraces their legs, says "žu" and claps together the rings on her wrists. Then she greets with a low bow the hearth at which she is to work in the future: the "sacred hearth," and in it the "royal goddess of the hearth" (t'ab-lha rgyal-mo), under whose protection her activities at the hearth are to be carried out.

Sideways from the hearth along the wall a beautiful Yarkand carpet is laid out. On this carpet a lama has marked out a Buddhistic swastika (yuń-druń) by means of barley grains; next to it he has put a 585 789

585 circle of good fortune (dga-skyil). In between the two magical figures
789 is placed a measure of grain (1 bre, around 1 liter) which is heaped full of barley. In it is stuck an arrow and on top of the barley has been placed a little lump of butter: a symbol of plenty, of abundance, of fatness, of fertility and of protection (the arrow).

The bride now sits down on the circle of good fortune of barley, the bridegroom sits down on the swastika, and between them stands the full measure of grain. Little tables are placed before them. The abbot steps before the couple and sprinkles them with holy saffron
585 water. Now the sNatridpa and the Trashishpa step forth and take the heavy bridal hat off the bride's head, and in so doing they sing a song related to this act (126). A large plate, heaped up with rice, meat,

126. Unfortunately I have not been able to obtain this poem up till now, which is entitled "źwa-p'ud" (taking off the hat).

vegetables, prepared with a strongly spiced sauce (curry) is placed on the little table in front of the couple. Both eat from /111/ one plate their first common meal in their common home. With it they drink tea, the bridegroom also beer During the meal they exchange scarcely a word. They know that they are being carefully observed, for in the meantime the relatives and members of the tribe of the Dragshos house have gathered in the chansa; the five Nyaopas are also there in full force. Mother Palskyid now goes around among all of them and thanks them with deep bows and clapping together of the rings on her wrists for all the help and assistance and all the financial contributions which enabled them to bring about the wedding.

The male contingent of the relatives and of the p'as-pun now goes to the neighboring house of a relative where, despite the late hour of the evening, they are regaled with further food and drink at the expense of Lobsang Wanggyal. There they feast, drink, sing, and dance into the early hours of the morning. The bridegroom goes to join them for a little while; he sits down among the guests in order to watch the dances. This is demanded by custom even if he does not enjoy it. During this time the bride stays with the women of her new circle of relatives who most eagerly discuss the wedding feast and everything they experienced that day.

In the neighbor's house things get increasingly lively and noisier, and incessantly there resounds the singing of the men; the store of songs is inexhaustible; but as the time goes by the songs become more and

The lamas stay in the Dragshos house the longest of all the guests. 585 7840

For seven full days they sat up above on the flat roof, so long as the winter sun shone and produced a mild temperature. They sat before the opened house temple across from the statues of the Buddhas and the demons, read prayers, masses and exorcizing formulas; they blew on their trumpets, beat their drums, rang their bells, in order to exorcize in advance all the evil spirits by which the young couple was threatened according to the prediction of the devil-tamer. But finally /116/ they too moved away, fully satisfied by the success of this week. The Dragshos had not been stingy with food and drink nor with money, so they had performed the exorcisms with all thoroughness. At least for a year the demons would not dare now to approach the couple with evil intent, the chief lama had told Lobsang Wanggyal. The latter had said to this quite drily, "oh, oh! (good, good!)," and he had said goodbye to the red-caps in a cool manner. He did not think much of their holiness or magical arts; his experiences with them had been too unfortunate, but for the sake of his mother and of his clan he could not quarrel with the lamas.

With this the wedding celebration came to a conclusion; much too early for many a guest who would have liked to celebrate a few days more such as did, in effect, happen, among the very great. But if anyone was glad that the celebration had come to an end, it was Lobsang Wanggyal and his wife Palskyid. They had, after all, kept within tolerable bounds, and the members of the clan had contributed a goodly amount towards the expenses; and yet Lobsang Wanggyal had had to borrow money at usurious rates of interest from the Kashmir tradesman in Leh, in order to be able to hold the wedding in decent style. Old Norbu Wangchug, it is true, would have liked to have had everything in much grander style, especially since the main expenses did not fall upon him. But finally all the others were satisfied: such a large wedding there had not been in Lower Ladakh in a long time.

What became of Namgyal's brothers and sisters now? He had 000 two brothers and two sisters. The brother who was closest to him in age married two years after, as Magpa (128), the daughter of the well-

128. If there are only daughters in a family, the relatives and p'as-pun pick a bridegroom for the oldest (or only) daughter when the latter comes of age, which is on her twelfth birthday. In this kind of a marriage the bridegroom is called Magpa, a designation which he keeps as husband later. His position in the house of the wife he has gained in this way is not the same 594 855

595 But it must be - - - that
562 nevertheless the woman's position in general is a much higher and more dignified one than that of the woman in India, especially those in Hindu families. The Tibetan woman in the polyandrous marriage often occupies a highly honored, yes, even dominating influence as mother of the family and as mistress of the sacred hearth. Exceptions only go to prove the rule. Compare also Tafel, Meine Tibetreise /My Tibetan Journey/, Stuttgart, Berlin and Leipzig, Union Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, p. 342 ff.

Marital Life and Household.

000 Drogpa Namgyal and Chosskyid became an increasingly happy married couple. It is true that the talk before the marriage about Chosskyid's tendency towards frivolity had not been entirely unfounded. The atmosphere in her parental house was not a good one, her father was a man of the world who in no way took the third commandment of the Buddhists (130) literally. But when she was removed from the

[779] 130. "Thou shalt not commit illicit sexual intercourse," says the third of the ten commandements of the Buddhists.

unhealthy environment of the parental home, and came under the influence of her husband who gave her support with a loving and firm hand, and when she was brought into the education of her husband's energetic grandmother, she developed into a faithful wife and an efficient housewife.

842 It was a great grief for her that she was denied a child for two years, all the more so since it is considered a disgrace for a Tibetan [784] woman to be sterile (mo-sam). Upon the advice of the hermit Tsetan, her husband called five lamas into the house, who for two days performed ceremonies (sku-rim) and mumbled prayers to the benign [776] goddess, the sovereign White Tara (sgrol-dkar), asking them to present Chosskyid with a son. During this time the lamas were entertained well and amply with food and drink. Lobsang Wanggyal also put a silver coin into the hand of each of the red-coats, as they were leaving. Despite all this Chosskyid continued to be denied the joys of motherhood. Thereupon the hermit advised her /118/ to do a pilgrimage to the nearby monastery of Tingmogang and to have new brass offering lamps placed before the image of the White Tara there. This she

Dedication of the House and Securing it Against Hostile Demons

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When the construction of the house was completed, Namgyal again called in the lamas. This is the way his relatives wanted it. For three days on end the lamas performed skurim (ceremonies), prayed to the Buddhas and to the tutelary spirits, asking them to protect the house and to give them blessing and prosperity in all their doing. It was especially important to protect the new house against the malicious earth spirits (sa-bdag) and their mistress, the old earth mother (ama-k'on-ma). This goddess wears a golden-yellow garment and she rides on a ram. In her hand she holds a loop of golden string. The most dreaded of the earth spirits are the Nyan (gnyan), who wander around in mountain and valley, and who nestle now in this, now in that rock or tree, and who send disease and death to man, when they are provoked, whether purposely or not. In order to fix these earth spirits of all kinds inside the earth, the lamas perform a ceremony which they call "the closing of earth's door." The lamas erect a long pole and construct a dosmo; from crossed sticks with wool threads stretched between them are constructed magical figures, parallelograms, pentagons, octagons, and stars, similar to the druidic foot of the medieval magician in Germany. These figures are fastened to the pole. Many of the figures are reminiscent of spider's webs; in addition there are little flags, arrows, and the like, which are stuck in between. Below, at the magical pole, a ram's skull is affixed. Inside the skull the lama magicians put all kinds of "valuable" offering gifts: gold leaf, a small piece of silver, a coin, a few turquoises, which are very cheap in Tibet, other semi-precious /127/ stones and small trinkets, wheat and rice kernels, peas, and the like. The quantity and the value of the offering gifts is determined by the money bag of the customer. A magical sign (sparka-k'on) is painted on the forehead of the skull; on the right jawbone is painted a sun, on the left jawbone a moon; above this are placed demons' masks, strips of silk, coins, and little sticks with little balls of wool at their tips (p'an-k'ra). At the very bottom of the pole the following crudely drawn pictures are attached: the picture of a man (the master of the house), of a woman with a spindle in her hand (the lady of the house), the children, the picture of the house, of a tree, and further magical signs (sparka and mewa), each of the latter on a little wooden tablet.

The entire dosmo is now fastened on the outside of the house

342 above the housedoor. It is supposed to fix the evil earth spirits firmly
●789 within the earth, lest they approach the house in a threatening manner. They are supposed to vent their rage upon the pictures by believing them to be the actual inhabitants of the house. Once the dosmo is attached, lama steps in front of the housedoor with his face turned towards the southwest, and calls upon the queen of the earth spirits, the old mother Khon, draws her attention to all the good things coveted by her, the ram's skull with sun and moon, the Khon sign, and all the valuable stones, and so forth, in the ram's skull. All this, he says, is being offered to her so that she may enjoy it. And now she might as well close the door of the earth for the owners of the house, who had brought her all these precious things as an offering, so that the army of earth spirits which was subordinated to her might not inflict any harm upon the inhabitants of the house. In future, too, when the latter should build a new house or improve the old, when they might plan a marriage or any other important matter, the earth mother is to remember this offering and is not to hinder the doings of the people, but to further them. In conclusion the lama claps his hands and exclaims: "Om kharal dok! Om kharal dok! Benneu swaha!" (mystical Sanskrit formulas).

The housedoor of the new house also had to be well protected against the evil spirits. A picture of the house and hearth god with the pig's head (p'a-lha, t'ab-lha) was also fastened above its door. When all these ceremonies were completed, and the lamas had fortified themselves by an ample meal and ample drink, /128/ and after each one of them had received another gift of money, they departed with the greeting: "Tra-shis-shik! K'angpa nor pelchik! Hail! May your house and your property prosper!"

A Year in the House of the Dragshos and What Namgyal Experienced during it

527 In the house of the Dragshos the old popular customs were strictly observed. The inhabitants were firmly rooted in the soil of the popular national traditions and took part in the life of the people as it has been taking its course for thousands of years, year after year in the same way, connected in the closest possible manner with nature. Just as life in nature takes its course in the eternal consonance of the yearly cycle which is determined by the course of the sun, so, too, the life of the Tibetan passes in even rhythm. In this the turning points

and down the mountain slope twice, and there I saw something gleaming between two large boulders--my necklace! This was the effect of the dosmo amulet." "Yindro" (meaning, "it may have been like that"), said Namgyal drily and set about his preparations for the journey, for he wanted to have taken part at least once in the great dosmo festival, and he also wanted to please the king. On the 25th of the twelfth month he set out for Leh.

The celebration of the King's New Year or Dosmoche begins as early as the 28th day of the twelfth month and in its entirety it again lasts for five days. The festival usually takes place in the first half of February but the exact time according to the Gregorian calendar constantly shifts, as do all Tibetan dates, because the two calendars can never be made to agree completely.

On the morning of the first holiday the lamas and the onpos first of all erect the large dosmo (magical pole) in an open place in the desert outside the town of Leh. The dosmo has already been described earlier. The one used here is distinguished by its height and by the large number of string stars, string crosses and pentagrams (134) that are attached to it. The pole is about eight meters high

134. The pentagram or the "witch's foot" was a frequently used symbol in medieval magic to ward off evil spirits. In Faust, Part I, Mephisto explains that he is rooted to the spot by a pentagram/the German "Drudenfuss," literally a "witch's foot," is simply a synonym for a pentagram. --translator/on the threshold. He needs a rat's tooth in order to break the spell.

and everything about it is proportionately larger than other dosmos used on other occasions, such as the dedication of a house, the exorcism of demons of disease, and the like. The lamas and some pious laymen have prepared themselves for the festival by fasting and the reading of sacred books, praying, and pilgrimages. After the large dosmo has been erected the lamas present a food and drink offering (ser-skyems) to the Buddhas and the gods.

On the 29th day of the twelfth month the lamas bring the storma offering (gtor-ma). (135). In so doing the monks and onpos

135. In the storma (gtor-ma, casting or scattered offering) the "Three Pleasing Aromas" (dri sna gsum) are often mixed in with the dough of the sacrificial cake as a special offering for the Drisa spirits (Sanskrit, Gandharva), the "aroma eaters,"

angel-like creatures which, floating around in the wide spaces of heaven, refresh themselves with pleasing fragrances of all kinds. But they also appear in the shapes of flies and of other insects and as such they buzz around heaps of refuse and piles of dung in order to "eat odors" there too! For this reason it frequently happens that feces and other impure matters derived from human beings are put inside this storma offering, in place of pleasing scents. The storma is supposed to have taken the place of human sacrifices, which used to be made to the gods and to the demons, in pre-Buddhistic times.

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separately read prayers and exorcizing texts in order to drive out the evil spirits of the old year with them. The dances which the magicians perform with hideous demons' masks before their faces and magical daggers and skull drums in their hands, have as their purpose the banishment of those hostile spirits so that they will leave the people unharmed in the new year. This is the "ceremony of the dying /138/ year" (lo-si-sku-rim). After the reading of the particular formulas involved, one of the lamas takes up the pyramid-shaped offering cake which has been placed in readiness, and carries it out to a crossing in the road in the desert. There he flings this cast offering among the rocks, so that it breaks into countless little pieces, and invokes the spirits telling them to refresh themselves with the "precious meal," and in exchange for this to let the people live in peace during the new year, and not to inflict upon them any kind of harm or malicious attacks. Some Tibetans who can afford the expense, have the lama fling their own cast offering (for which they pay him), in order to be perfectly secure against the evil activities of the demons.

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Towards evening the great magical pole with all its crosses made of string and its pentagrams, is surrendered to the people, who have been standing around with tense expectation, in order that they may tear the pole down. Namgyal stood with a few friends in the very midst of the excited crowd.

Now they are all prepared to tear the pole down. Another last dance is performed by the onpos around the mast, a few exorcizing formulas are spoken--the spirits of the old year are called upon to enter into the string stars and the pentagrams, wild, shrill music starts playing, demonic sounds as if from hell, wild shouting, whistling, yelling from the crowd: then, at a sign given by the onpos, the people rush upon the destro. The pole crashes to the ground and now there commences a

527 violent struggling and fighting in which everyone tries to seize as large
789 a piece of wood with colored wool threads as possible. Once someone has got hold of a piece he takes it home and keeps it carefully throughout the entire year as a valuable talisman serving as a protection against the evil spirits.

Namgyal did not dream of taking part in the brawl. Api Tsering Putrid just would have to see that she got along without such a amulet this year; he himself did not believe at all any more in the magical power of these things.

527 On the 30th day of the twelfth month, the end of the month and of the year, Namgyal again rode along in the retinue of the king, who had once more assumed royal dignity of the duration of the festival. This time they rode to Sheh and Trigtse. Again Namgyal was witness as the king performed prayers on behalf of the people in the monastery of Trigtse before the images of the divinities. And again the grandees as well as the little people celebrated /137/ the second New Year's festival extensively with feasting and drinking, with song, dance, and the playing of polo.

783 A few of Namgyal's friends urged him to stay a few days more in Leh since he was already there, so that he would be able to take part in the procession of entreaty (mgo-p'yag, really "head procession"). This procession was to take place on the eighth, the ninth, and the tenth day of the first month of the new year. Namgyal let himself be persuaded. From this exercise he expected more profit than from the New Year's celebrations with their wild revelries and their unbridled amusements. After all, this was an occasion of serious praying and of real effort to obtain the grace of the powers of the Beyond, so he was told.

After previous fasting, fervent praying, and all kinds of worthy activity of the part of the individual participants, about thirty men from Leh and the surrounding villages came together for the yearly procession of entreaty. On this occasion the suppliants must circle once around the mountain on which the monastery is situated, near Leh, within the space of three days. They have to walk in a closed chain, one behind the other at a distance from each other of a man's height. The steep mountain bears on its peak the little monastery of Namgyal Tsemo which overlooks the countryside as defiantly as a fortress from its high eminence. The worship is primarily directed towards the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara with the eleven faces (spyan-ras gzigs bcu-gcig źal) and the thousand arms, whose gigantic image stands in this

241 circle. This cake chorten is later distributed during the feast, where it is eaten after a piece of it has been donated to the gods as a cast offering.

After the dance, Namgyal steps onto the rock terrace in front of the castle and watches as the scribe Dondrub, who has visibly recuperated from the exertions of the head procession, and who looks well nourished and flourishing, steps to the edge of the terrace. From there he calls with his peculiar stentorian voice in the direction of the town which lies at the foot of the mountain on which the castle is situated: "Sa-kha-che! The earth's door is open!" This means that the earth mother (Ama-Khon) has now opened the earth's door which was "locked" during the winter, and that the earth is now prepared to give from her lap the power that brings fertility. Then there followed [783] a warning to all those who for some reason or another had become ritually impure by touching a corpse, a newborn child, or by merely coming close to these, not to work on the irrigation ditches as soon as and so long as the fields are being irrigated from these ditches, which is now to start, not to step over any of these ditches, because otherwise the water gods (klu, Naga) and the earth spirits (sa-bdag) would be offended and enraged. The former would then hold back the water in the mountains, and the latter would, at the command of the earth mother, keep the gate of the earth locked so that the earth would hold back her productive powers.

Now the king appears with his retinue which /Following p. 144 there are two full-page illustrations, the first showing a "bride, bridegroom, (in pointed hat), the latter's parents and aunts" (subtitle); the second being a rear view of a "Ladakh woman in festive costume with turquoise-covered head ornament (perag) and coral band" (subtitle)./ /145/ Namgyal had also joined, and at the head of a long procession of farmers he moves to a nearby field belonging to the king. There a plow stands in readiness. The oxen, which have again been caught, are yoked to the team, the halters are fastened to the roughly-worked yoke which lies without any cushioning on the necks of the animals. The king now plows a few furrows. Often the earth is still frozen solid and the plow just slides along the hard soil scratching it just slightly. This does not matter. Even in this manner the Tibetan sees the purpose of the custom fulfilled. Five lamas sit at the edge of the field, 241 789 and during the king's plowing they read the book, "The attained blessedness of the eight-fold illumination (snaṅ-rgyad bkra-śis adzegs-pa)"; in some places they also read the bock of the "Liberation from the earth

spirits and the demons (sa-bdag gdon bsgrol)." All hostile demons of the earth, of the air, and of the water are adjured not to disturb the field work which now begins, and the water gods are implored to give ample water. 241 789

The lamas are paid amply by the farmers for their reading and praying. Whoever is stingy in this case, so they think, will not be able to expect a plentiful harvest either. The poor small-holder who has no money to pay the priest helps himself in a less expensive manner. He digs a few goats' skulls in a corner of his field, or else he strikes his hoe into the ground and lets it stick there; both these operations are supposed to exorcise at least the enraged earth spirits for awhile and to spellbind them, and moreover it does not cost them anything.

After the king's plowing, Namgyal again returned to Kalatse and started upon the spring labors on his fields. What he had experienced in Leh again gave him material for thought for a long time to come. 000

After the fields near the village and on the summer places (yar-sa) higher up had been taken care of, and the grain stood in green stalks on the field terraces, those farmers who could afford it organized a ceremony of supplication (rim-agro). From three to five lamas read prayers on the threshing floor which lies out on the open fields. Namgyal had three lamas come from Tingmogang to hold the rimdro. On the round threshing floor the red-cowled priests sat down on goat hair carpets which had been spread out for them, and after they had eaten and drunk well, they read /146/ the prescribed prayers to the god of wealth, Dsamdhala (Kubera, Tibetan, rnam-t'os-sras) and to the goddess of wealth (nor-rgyun-lha-ma). The two ceremonies yan-agug and p'ya-agug were likewise performed, because the Dragshos was in the habit of paying well. The lamas assured them on the evening of this day that now the deities that had been invoked were undoubtedly favorably inclined, that the evil spirits had been banished, that his barn and his money bag would be filled for him, and that good luck and success had been accorded to him in all his undertakings. 241 782

Finally, a few well-to-do Kalatse farmers also came together in order to undertake a procession (138) around the fields at the recom- 241 788

138. This is reminiscent of the pilgrimages (processions) which are still customary today in Catholic regions, around the fields. These, likewise, have the purpose of protecting the fields from bad weather, drought, and crop failure, and to secure a good harvest. These processions, in their origin,

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go back to the ancient Germanic processions around the fields which were held on the first Thursday (Donar's day) in March, June, and September, by the elders of the village and the district, in order to obtain a plentiful harvest blessing.

mendation of the lamas. Namgyal joined them. The lamas in the Tingmogang monastery gave out 84 books from the monastery library of the 108 books of the canon. Each of the participating men, among them also Namgyal, took three to four of these books tied together with a string, on their backs, and the carriers now circled around the entire complex of fields belonging to Kalatse; during this procession they went up the mountain, down the mountain, along steep and rocky mountain slopes and down deep into the gorge, so that even the tiniest piece of land of the size of a few square meters would share in the blessing which streamed down from the divine word upon the earth which was thus circled about.

In the early spring the ex-king in Leh, in conjunction with the Wasir, the governor of the ruling maharajah of Kashmir, called together a large number of lamas from all the many neighboring monastries to the "Great Reading." On this occasion all the 108 volumes of the canon are read through in such a manner that the loose leaves of the individual books are distributed among the lamas in the fashion already described; then each of the red-coats reads aloud through the leaves that have been placed before him as rapidly as possible. In this way volume after volume is read through without regard for continuity. The divine power of the entire word (cos) supposedly effects, even in this manner, the outpouring of blessing, fertility, and ripening of a plentiful harvest, peace, good fortune, and prosperity for the entire people and country.

000 Namgyal, who had once watched this Great Reading, thought that if anything, this mass appeal to the grace of the Buddhas and the gods would surely have to /147/ be effective. And yet--were there not always again crop failures, droughts, epidemics, and famine? Where were the saving powers since they did not prevent all this misery? The doings of the lamas also repelled him: this spiritless mechanical recitation of the sacred texts, the debauchery and the laxity of many of them who, after all, acted the parts of soul savers and leaders of the people, and who let themselves be called "saviour" (skyabs-mgon).

789 A soothsayer in the monastery of the "Virtuous" in Ri-rdsong had--in contrast to the others who had predicted a fruitful year--prophesied

drought and crop failure for the new year. At this, the farmers of Kalatse were frightened, and some of them, the wealthiest among them, joined forces in order to do their utmost to ward off the threatening disaster, let the cost be what it would. That lama soothsayer had advised them, everyone individually, to have the rain-giving deities invoked once more in particular by one of his monastery brothers. In this way they would get to the right place. For, after all, it was these dieties who gave growth and prosperity with the necessary rain.

Thus, Namgyal also called in a Gelugpa monk in order to perform the prescribed ceremonies. The lama, who, as a "true believer," wore a yellow cap with the red dress of his order (the unreformed) lamas wear red caps) came, and after he had undertaken the ritual washings, he went into the adjoining valley, through which the water-supplying brook flows. There he sat down by a well and cleared the spot in the circumference of one meter. Then he set up a small brown statue of Tsongkapa, the great reformer; in front of this he placed a brass vase containing a bouquet of non-poisonous flowers as an offering gift, as well as some grain in a brass bowl, a white offering cake and a vase covered with jewels. In the latter the lama placed pills made of bread dough, spices, and flowers. Over each one of these pills the priest pronounces the magical formula of Tsongkapa 108 times, he blows at the pill, for his breath supposedly has magical powers, and then he places each individual pill inside the vase and covers the latter with a red cloth. Now the lama takes a book about rain magic (139)

139. The instructions for the conjuring of the Nagas (water gods) are contained in Tsongkapa's, the reformer's, book, dmigs brtse-ma las t'sogs; there Buddha, the Bodhisattvas Avalokitesvara and Manjushri are implored for rain. Tsongkapa is worshipped by the sect of the "Virtuous" (Tibetan, dge-lugs-pa) founded by him, and by the laymen served by this order. Images and statues of him are to be found in all Gelugpa monasteries and in many household temples, He, too, is considered a rain-giving deity.

in his hand, whose author is supposed to have been the reformer who has long since risen to the dignity of a Bodhisattva /143/, and in his name he implores the rain-giving deities for the coveted moisture. The rain prayers contained in this book are supposed to be based on an ancient Indic Sutra (text) concerning the prayer addressed to the Great

789 Cloud (140) asking for rain. The Buddha is even designated by this

140. The Tibetan title of the book about the "Great Cloud" (meaning Buddha) is "gcig las ĉar-abebs skor, of the singular work of giving rain." Buddha is given the title "Almighty Naga King" in this book, and he is entreated to induce through his "blissful magical power" the Naga princess under him to give rain. Aside from those names, the thunderbolt carrier, Vjrapani (p'yag-rdor) is also often implored for rain. Among the ancient Romans, Jupiter had, aside from other functions, also that of "cloud gatherer" and "rain giver."

name in Mahayana Buddhism. In a book called "The Great Cloud," it is told how the Buddha teaches and admonishes the nagas (water gods) to supply rain.

Now the lama reads pieces from the book named. In so doing, he addresses the nagas in the following manner: "Oh, all you nagas, great as well as small! I come not in order to inflict harm upon you, but in order to implore you for rain for the benefit of the earth, especially for the benefit of this place. It is Tsongkapa's command that you obey. But if you do not obey, I will smash your skull with my mantra (magical formula). Therefore, give us rain now without delay, and do not leave this place until rain falls!" Then the lama places three stones at each of the four corners of the open space, calls out the names of the Jinas (rgyal-ba, the heavenly Buddhas) of the four corners of the earth, and places the vase with the pills into the water of the well so that it is no longer visible. He then proceeds to set up a small tent and places a little statue of Tsongkapa inside it, and in front of this statue he puts the "five kinds of offering": cake, grain, flowers, little lamps, and water (in place of the lacking wine).

The lama also calls upon the village god for assistance; magical formulas and exorcising texts are recited.

It is stated in the book of magic: "When all this has been done in the manner indicated, a beautiful picture of Tsongkapa will appear to the lama (who performs the exorcism) above each one of the lamps that has been set up. The picture shows Tsongkapa sitting on a naga (nymph) and scattering ambrosia down upon the nagas so that they experience the most extreme ecstasy, and let their lightning bolts shoot across the sky so that clouds are massed together, the thunder dragons

(141) roar, and rain falls." 789●

141 According to the conception of the Tibetans (and similarly also of the Chinese), a rain storm arises from the fact that two dragons, a male and a female one, fight with each other so that the sparks (lightning) fly. Their angry roar is the thunder. On each of the dragons there rides a demon (lha-adre), and they, too, take part in the battle. Both riders have a sack from which they scatter hail and sleet down on the earth. According to the Chinese conception the thunder dragons and the sky Nagas cause the rain storm by rolling the thunder wheel at each other in battle and by spitting lightning. [821

The year in which all this took place was a good one for the Ladakh farmers. There was no dearth of water; in the early summer the rains started and continued for an unusually long period of time; the summer brought warm sunshine so that wheat, barley, and buckwheat in /149/ the fields turned out very well. The gods seemed graciously inclined and the lamas impressed upon the farmers how useful and necessary it was to invoke the gods in good time and to bring offerings to them. 000

So they all celebrated a merry "festival of the ears of grain," the Schrulblha (srub-lha). That took place in the beginning of July when the first ears appeared on the barley and wheat stalks. On the eve of this festival, Namgyal, like all his neighbors, brought in a bundle of green ears from the field, which he attached to the door posts, the beams, and the wooden columns of the house: an offering for the earth deities (sa-bdag) and for the household and local divinities. On the afternoon of the festival the villagers all gathered in the open place of the village where they ate, drank, and danced. They sang songs about the origin of the world and about the gods who brought the first grain kernels down to earth. 527

The beautiful weather lasted into the late autumn, and the people of Ladakh were able to bring in their harvest successfully and without being disturbed. The grain yield had been satisfactory and the people of Lower Ladakh, among them also the inhabitants of Kalatse, had also had a good harvest of apricots. Everybody was of joyful and in good spirits, for the people had scarcely been afflicted with serious sickness this year. The farmers who owned horses had, moreover, been able to earn many a rupee by

steps there were offering cakes, rice, wine (or water) in little bowls, and finally--up on top of the plate of the altar--there were large, brightly painted sacrificial cakes decorated with arabesques, and furthermore bowls made of human skulls filled with beer, water, and tea. In some of the bowls filled with rice were stuck flowers and stalks of incense. 527 782

Then the invited invisible guests were invoked. One lama called out: "Come, come! Om! Oh thunderbolt (142)! Take and

142. The thunderbolt (Sanskrit, Vajra, Tibetan rdo-rje), the magical weapon of the gods and of the magician lamas in their battle against the hostile demons. The word "Vajra" alone, in the mouth of the magician, has a spellbinding effect upon the gods and demons that have been invoked. Here it is an exclamation that is directed at those sinister powers. A bronze dorje belongs to the equipment of each lama, so that he can protect himself and other against evil spirits with it. The thunderbolt is also a symbol for the teachings of Buddha. [589].

accept this offering! Behold: Wonderful river water to drink, cooling water to wash your feet, flowers to decorate your hair, the scent of costly incense, lamps to lighten the darkness, water with a pleasing odor to rub your bodies with, hallowed /151/ food, the music of the cymbals!" At this point the instruments started up with a loud and shrill kind of music. "Eat your fill! Swaha!" The invisible guests were called upon to sit down and to enjoy the food and the drinks. Then there followed a eulogy of those invited; their power and their work were praised. It was assumed that the gods took to themselves the essence of the food and of the drinks. Further prayers asking for blessing and prosperity were pronounced. A lama brought fresh sacrificial cakes, the tsogs cakes (tsogs, meaning, "for all"); amid renewed loud music a priest threw several of the tsogs cakes up in the air as an offering to all the demigods and the demons who were not expressly invited or who were not invited by name. This was done so that their favor would not be lost inadvertently. Then each of the participating lamas, one after the other, depending on his individual status and dignity, received a tsogs cake. They ate the cake, but each lama had to leave one piece of his cake; these pieces were then collected on one plate. An entire cake was then placed on top of piled-up pieces, and these remnants were flung on the ground before the door

at various "beers" in the Dragshos house and in the houses of the circle of relatives and of the tribe in Kalatse and Teya-Tingmogang. The trip was to be taken to the nomads of the Jangtang highland plateau, which lay in Tibetan territory in the northeastern part of Ladakh, in order to exchange goods with these inhabitants of the upland steppes. 437 777

The astrologist, who naturally had to be consulted in this instance, prescribed to the people that the ninth day of the fifth month would be a suitable day for setting out on the journey. It was a Monday (moon day); the moon god who rules over this day, would be friendly towards their undertaking, while red (that is, "angry") Mars, who is in the ascendancy on Tuesday, was not to be trusted; the second, eighth, and fourteenth of the month were also not to be recommended as days on which to begin the journey, so said the onpo.

When the plan was established in every detail three lamas were called into Namgyal's house because he was the leader of the enterprise. He led the priests to his threshing floor in the open field /153/ where they had to read the "travel blessing" from three books. The titles of the books were as follows: (143): 437 789

143. The titles of the books in Tibetan read:

1. P'yogs bcu mun sel;
2. Bar-cad lam sel;
3. bSam-pa lhun grub.

Aside from the eight points of the compass, familiar and current among us, Tibetan geography has two more: The upward (in the direction of the zenith), and the downward (in the direction of the nadir). [823]

1. The Illumination of the Dark in the ten points of the compass.
2. The overcoming of the Dangers along the way.
3. The Fulfillment of all Wishes.

Further the priests read prayers to the god of riches (Kubera, rnam-tos-sras), and to the wealth-giving goddess Nor-rgyn-lha-ma with great zeal. Finally the luck-bringing yan-agug and pya-agug ceremony was again performed. The purpose of all these exercises and prayers was to exorcize the Don, Nyan, Tsan, Nodjin, and Gegs

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demons that threatened the travelers along the way, so that the demons would not inflict any harm upon them; also that the travelers would have success and profit in their trading One or the other of the travelers had the lama make one or several new amulets, including one that acted as a protection against the bite of a dog. The great, strong mastiffs of the Tibetan nomads are much feared. The amulet contained a slip of paper on which was drawn a picture of a dog in rough outline. The dog's legs and mouth were bound with a chain which was secured at its end by a dorje. Around the figure of the dog was written a magical formula in Sanskrit script, which concluded with the words: "The mouth of the blue dog is tied fast, swaha!"

Another man prepared himself for possible clashes with the thieves of Jangtang by acquiring an amulet which was supposed to make the wearer immune towards sword, spear, and bullet. The amulet consisted of a piece of paper on which invocations by the heavenly Buddhas were printed so that they enclosed a lotus flower in concentric circles. On the eight petals of the lotus flower is written the magical syllable "hum," and in the four corners of the piece of paper are the signs of the Buddhistic trinity: Three gems standing for the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, Law, and Monkhood); then--singly--the lotus flower (Buddha), the thunderbolt (Law), the magical dagger (Monkhood). The first formula on the magical piece of paper reads: "You Buddhas, gods, goddesses and great Gurus (teachers)! Protect the body, soul, and speech of the possessor of this charm!" To this are added a great number of magical formulas and syllables whose meaning is supposed to be such. The lama had made an incision with a knife into the muscular flesh of the arm of one /154/ of the men who wanted to have a particularly effective protection against injuries of all kinds. With the blood from this incision the lama had drawn a few magical signs and letters inside the innermost magical circle. This charm had to be be paid for more dearly, of course, than the others. The magical slips of paper were folded into small squares, they were covered with red or yellow silk, tied across the cross, and then they were attached to the cap or hung around the neck by a string; or else they were worn on the bare skin underneath the jacket so that they were invisible. Two people also wore a flattened lead bullet each, as a talisman, in a bag on their chest; the bullets had been found in the body of a wild sheep killed in hunting; and they were considered as effective means of protection against injury.

Namgyal remained aloof from all this activity. He took his

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/Following page 160/

A dosmo.

might still be lacking, the lamas would get for him; after all, they were making enough money on him. 000

It is true that Namgyal donated ample gifts to the neighboring monastery and to the monks who were called in for the household ceremonies. He performed pilgrimages to all the holy places within reach, among others to the miracle-performing image of the Great Merciful One in Trilognath in Lahul; he also planned to perform the great pilgrimage to the sacred glacial mountain Gangsri, as well as that to the sacred lake Manasarowar in faraway Tibet, as soon as his official business matters as magistrate--the post had been transferred to him--would permit. The belief was that by means of such a pilgrimage the sins of all births were to be effaced and the way into Paradise was to be opened all at once. 788

Besides the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas, the country gods, the village gods, and the household god were not forgotten either. Even though Namgyal was often beset by doubt as to their existence and their effective power, he nevertheless considered it advisable, if only for the sake of his relatives and the p'as-pun (clan), not to neglect them and to keep them favorably inclined and pacified by occasional offerings. 782

Each morning before sunrise Namgyal would bring the morning offering (ṭa-mĉod) to the entire host of Buddhas and gods. It consisted of barley, rice, beer, water, and also flowers (zas-ĉaṅ-gi p'ud); everything was placed in front of the images of the deities in the house temple in brass bowls. Upon entering the sacred chamber Namgyal would fall down three times in adoration before the image of Avalokitsvara, and then he would present the offering and say a brief prayer. In the evening Namgyal would in like manner bring the evening offering (p'i-mcod).

His poor neighbor, Ngurub, who could not afford such offerings, contented himself with placing a clay bowl with smouldering juniper twigs in it, on the roof of his house, as an "offering to all." He used to say that even so the gods were just as favorable to him and that he was not afflicted with misfortune any more than the rich who presented more ample offerings. On the contrary. The gods loved the spicy, fragrant smoldering juniper above all, /175/ and they looked, so he said, graciously upon this offering. He stood quite well with those up there, he stated.

In the first "ascending" half of each month (yar-ṅo) (158), that 789

158. The first "ascending" half of the month" (yar-ṅo) is 821

821 considered the stronger one, auguring good fortune and success; the second "descending" one (mar-ño) as the "weaker," harboring little good fortune.

789 is to say, when the moon was waxing, a ceremony had to be performed, according to ancient custom, in the house, which the Tibetan designates as lha bsaṅs co-ces, which we would render by "appeasing the gods." At first Namgyal used to follow his father's precedent and call in three lamas on each of these occasions. The lamas would recite prayers and formulas of exorcism for a few hours and they would bring cast offerings (gtor-ma) to the gods. The master of the house himself would go through all the rooms of the house (bsaṅs-ak'or) with a bowl (bsans-ap'or) of incense, usually just smoldering juniper twigs, which he would continually fan by blowing. After having gone around he would add more frankincense (ldug-spos), bread dough mixed with butter, salt and onions, and then he would sprinkle beer over it from a jug, and place this food and incense offering on the edge of the stove in the living room-kitchen as refreshment and delightful fragrance for the gods. In the meantime the lamas up in the household temple would read from the book bsaṅs-dpe. These are not prayers of supplication. Without special marks of reverence the gods are requested to accept the offering in a friendly manner, to refresh themselves by it, and in exchange for it to spare those who brought the offering from hostile actions. Gradually Namgyal contented himself with calling in the lamas two or three times a year for the bsaṅs offering; for the rest he regarded his own offering as sufficient even without their presence and activity. As a reward for their efforts the lamas received, on this occasion, only ample food and beer, since they served two or three houses in one day. The actual compensation for their services took place in autumn all at once.

788 Once every year, in the fourth month, which is a special, festive month, Namgyal would call three to five lamas into his house for the great year-Rimdro (rim-agro, meaning "offering ceremony"). Everyone who could at all afford it, did this for the well-being of all inhabitants of the house, including the animals. On this occasion, the wealthy man is actually supposed to have /176/ the entire first part of the Buddhistic canon (collection of the sacred books, 108 volumes) read. The king in his time could afford to have this done, but it takes a long time and is very expensive. But in order to enable the less well-endowed as well as the rich to hold the Rimdro, the lamas

karma as a service which furthers his final release from the bonds of being and from suffering. 766

Otherwise, too, there was much disease during this year. The Nardag (na-bdag), the "demon of disease," went around the country followed on its heels by Tšelen, the messenger of the god of death, who carried off into the realm of the dead the human beings, man as well as woman, child as well as the aged, with his catching net. Many a one was struck by the Nardag with a violent and mysterious sickness which no doctor knew or could heal. 753

There was Rolma from the P'arlap'ang house (p'ar-la-p'aṅ), literally "the thrown-out one." She suddenly fell sick, complained about pains in her abdomen and in her back, her limbs became stiff and ached, the shivering ague and fever set in, and at times the sick woman lay there as if dead. The Tibetan doctors and magicians were at their wit's end. All their remedies failed, and even the cause of the illness was obscured to them. Finally they apparently came closer to the solution, as the lamas thought. Again, Khampas, men from greater Tibet, had had a hand in the matter. Recently a company of these Tibetans, Nask'orpas (gnas-ak'or-pa), literally translated, "Circlers of holy places," that is, pilgrims who walk around holy places amid prayers, had traveled through the country and had also come to Kalatse. These people had shown all kinds of tricks: one of them was able to make his body rigid at will, and then he would stick a large needle through his cheeks, knives through the muscles of his arms and thighs, without feeling any pain or so much as bleeding; lying on the ground he had a companion knock a large stone into pieces with a heavy hammer on his bare chest; he would swallow the blade of a sword, and perform other tricks of a similar nature. The people went from house to house, performed their tricks, and offered for sale to the inhabitants turquoises and tile tea, as well as all kinds of secret remedies. In one or two houses the Nask'orpas had also offered for sale a peculiar medicine, after they had found out [87/ shrewed inquiry and questioning that this or that villager lived at enmity with his neighbors. The people said that the Naskorpas had an eye for opportunities where they were able to offer such secret remedies and to find customers for them. It was a remedy which was designed to make an enemy sick, even if not to kill him outright. It consisted of pills which contain poisonous plant substances, as well as the "five unclean things" (162) which are 754 [789]

162. These "Five unclean Things" (rdzas mi gtsaṅ-ba lṅa)

among the Tibetans. By means of shouting, beating of drums, and firing of rifles they attempted to frighten the demon Rahu (sgra-can) (136), the furious enemy of the sun and moon (also according to 821

136 The dragon Rahu of Buddhistic and Hindu mythology has its counterpart in the dragon Nidhogg, a secondary form of the Fenri wolf of ancient Germanic mythology, who also threatens to devour the sun and the moon during their eclipse.

Indian belief), from devouring these good /192/ divinities who supply the earth with light night and day.

The superabundance of water in the spring and early summer was followed by a dry mid-summer. The masses of snow on the mountains had melted for the greater part, and for months on end not a drop of rain fell, even though the sky was frequently overcast and the air cool, during a period in which ordinarily there was a considerable heat spell. The seed on the fields that had been spared by the floods, which was just about to form into ears, dried up because there was no water available for irrigation. The snow remaining in the mountains and the glacial ice did not melt with the cool weather, the brooks carried only a little bit of water, and the water reservoirs were frequently empty. Namgyal had the Kalatse reservoir and water-line strictly guarded both day and night; and as village magistrate he punished several villagers with high fines of money, who had secretly and out of their turn conducted water to their fields; for this was, at that time, a crime committed upon the entire village community. 731 [689]

The lamas performed one procession after another, and the farmers carried the sacred books around all the fields; they prayed to all rain-bestowing deities, asking them to drench the thirsting land with rain. Everything was in vain. The coveted rain did not come; many brooks dried up completely, some only brought a little water into the valley late in the afternoon. At night there was frost in the high mountains, and the little melted water, which did not begin to flow down till around noon, had a long way to travel before it got down into the valley. A crop failure was to be expected. [789].

At the same time all kinds of sickness again went through the land, measles and scarlet fever, also a few cases of smallpox and typhoid, which frightened the people anew. The people of Ladakh wailed and cried to their "prophets," saying that they had prophesied a particularly fortunate year, and that in place of this they had been 787

787 afflicted with this terrible year of misfortune. The old devil-tamer soon had an explanation ready. It is true, he said, that their prophecy had not come true. But this had its reasons. He and the lamas had not had a horoscope of the ex-king at hand, which influenced, so he claimed, the fate of the entire country even today after the dethronement, in a powerful way. Now they just learned that the king was born in the Iron-Tiger year (lcags [redacted]) /Following page 192 there are two full-page illustrations, the first of "A Lharie (physician) with his medicine bag and medicine book" (subtitle); the second of a "Barber (Muslim) and knife sharpeners" (subtitle)./ /193/, and the present year was the Wood-Ape year, he pointed out. This conjunction meant of course conflict and disaster. For iron was the enemy of wood--the iron axe cuts the wood--and the tiger is the terrible enemy of the ape. No wonder, therefore, that the year had brought so much misfortune with it. If they had only had the king's horoscope at the time...

789 The lamas prayed and performed one ceremony after another. The people did not pay any attention to them, and did not call upon them any more, either. A dull despair settled upon the people, and many of them cursed the lazy drones in the monasteries. The people made more use than ever of the old magical processes which the oldsters in the village still knew from their ancestors. They threw barley and pills made of bread dough into the drying wells and brooks, as offerings to the water gods, and they exorcized the spirits of the earth by means of magical daggers and hoes that they stuck into the ground. They placed pentagrams made of sticks and wool threads, string crosses, and thorny twigs around their houses and on the roads, and recited ancient exorcizing formulas which no lama knew.

731 Finally, in the late summer, as the grain was standing, scarcely
426 ripened and in thin ears, on the fields, the hot days came. At last the snow fields sent the long hoped-for water into the valley, the brooks and the canals were filled. But it was too late, to save the harvest. Many of the small-holders and small farmers were able to carry their entire harvesting yield home in two or three sacks. The specter of famine crept through the valleys. The grain containers of the poor became empty, and whoever still had some grain in store kept it back. Many rich people sold the grain which they had stored up for years at outrageous prices or else lent it at usurious rates of interest. The same was done by the lamas of the monastery Lamayuru, as well as by the village priest of Kalatse who belonged to this monastery, the lama Dondrub from the Break-leg house. With the grain collected

the body then cools off gradually from the top down to the feet; in the case of great sinners, the soul escapes from the lower part of the body through the rectum, and the body gradually cools off from down below up to the head, so it is said. 763 775

Behavior of the Deceased

It is said that for four days the dead person does not know that he has died. The latter (during this time) keeps returning to his house, sits down in the circle (of the members of his household), and also speaks to them, but the latter do not answer him. But when he notices that his body does not cast a shadow any more and that (in walking) he leaves no footprints behind, only then does he know: I have died. It is also said that the dead person always resembles the animal of his birth year, for instance, the corpse of a pig year person is supposed to look like a dead pig (in his features). 775

When somebody has died, his understanding (his faculties) become nine times as acute as before. For a good lama it is an easy thing to effect that creatures in Bardo (3) (through his magical arts), 775 789

3. Bardo is the realm of the dead in which the deceased arrive first and where they stay for forty days until they are reborn in a new body. In the same place they are also tortured and frightened by horrible demons, if the power of their own virtuous accomplishments, or the prayers, masses, and offerings of the priests do not release them from it. --Compare Evans-Wentz: Tibetanisches Totenbuch, Zürich, 1937.

become so light that they become like beams (floating on the water) (4), so it says in the books, particularly in the "T'os-agrol." Until

4. The force of gravity is eliminated. A renowned magical trick of the lamas.

the funeral ceremonies are ended, the deceased person daily receives his favorite dishes.

/213/

Many Sects--Many Methods

Now, since there are five Buddhistic sects in Ladakh, namely, 000

From the day following the "c ... of the body" the a... 764
death ceremonies begin. The lamas sit in the household temple, the magician who is expert in black magic is called in together with the lama who took care of the "changing of the body." They do not enter the temple at first, but sit down in another (adjoining) room and set up the (death) horoscope.

Let us give an example here: The snake year person Tsering 764
died, at the age of 42, on the 28th day of the 12th month of the Wood- 787
Pig year, on a Thursday in the dragon hour at sunrise. Now, after the 781
"changing of the body" has been carried out, the onpo must look up in the book about the za-ade (the demons who cause the death of human beings), whither the death demon of Tsering has turned. For the 28th day of the 12th month there is written in the book: On this "pig day" the demon of death has turned towards the East. He has now entered the house of a person with a lame leg only 15 paces away. The two people in that house, the snake year person and the pig year person, will suffer harm from evil spirits. They are quickly to perform ceremonies and make protective offerings (gtor-zlog). For the further ceremonies to be held (there), one should consult the book /219/ "The collected clear astrological instructions for the dead (gśin-rtsis kun gsal)." Since the wandering of the demon of death is described as such in the little book, and since a lame person actually lives to the east of the house of the deceased Tsering (!), the onpo is quickly called, and he is made to perform the necessary ceremonies for protection. This 776
death demon (za-adre) is feared greatly by all people. They say that one step taken by this za-adre is equal to the two ells' jump of a living person (18). In the horoscope there now follows, as in the (money)

18. That means that there is no escaping from him.

donations of a noble queen, an ample count of the Shed (gśed, demons or killers) (19), and of the offerings necessary to fend them off.

19. gśed (meaning, "killers, demons of death"), another expression for za-adre. However, gśed also is an abbreviated expression used to designate the periodically returning offering ceremonies for the exorcism of the demons concerned.

The Year's Shed ("Offering")

764 787 789 Since Tsering was a snake year person, it says in the horoscope: When a snake year person dies a bird year person and a pig year person must be fetched. These persons hide a red or dark blue piece of cloth cut to measure, as well as any jewels that might be available, inside an old leather sack that has been slit open at the top, or inside a black vessel. (This is done as an offering to the Shed demon, the "killer.") These things are also covered with a hide or grains of barley; (in the former case) it must be the fresh hide of a black goat or of a yak killed by one of three Bon priests as a sacrifice to the Shed. The head of the (killed) /second parenthesis supplied by the translator, as it is missing in the text./ yak or of the goat is placed facing north, the right front leg towards the east, and the left towards the west. The spinal column is dragged along the earth. Sayings (mdo-mań, Mantra), among them the "Formula of the Crown of Hair," (20) are recited. The lha-gsol

20. In this case the thought is probably of hair belonging to Gautama Buddha, the Ushnisha (Tibetan, gtsug-tor), which is to be seen in all pictures of Buddha.

(invocation to the gods), the gyań-agug (good luck bringing) ceremony, as well as the ceremony of the "string cross of the tent" (gur-mdos), are performed. Thereupon the demon of death escapes to a woman who has a red dog with red flesh.

The Monthly Shed Offering

Since the 12th month (in which Tsering died) is the pig month, it says in the horoscope: He who dies in the pig /220/ month, had actually finished his life already in the snake month. The demon had carried him (that is, his soul) off to the northeast.

Since the 28th day of the 12th month is the "heavenly door of the grave" (because heaven is opened up for the death demons and they can escape from it), the black magician must close the heavenly portal in the following manner (21): above the front door of the house of the

21. This is done so that the demons of death will not harm the people.

deceased Tsering, a mouth, eyes, and so forth are painted with clay 764
on a ram's skull; (for the rest) the skull is covered with paint. On its 787
forehead is drawn the magical Sparka sign "Khen" (22) of Tsering. 789

22. Khen is the lord of the gods and the demons of heaven.

This skull is attached above the house door and over it is placed a mdos (string star) made of sticks and strings in five colors. This star is called "heaven." Again above this is put an arrow with narrow ribbons of five colors. On the right-hand side of the skull a spotted (probably by means of partial charring) arrow is affixed, to the left a spindle (23) spotted

23. Compare note 106 in its main part!

in like manner, and to the right of the spindle a board bearing the picture of a man's face is attached. Finally as many crosses are carved (into the board) as the number of years in the age of the surviving man (24) in the house. On the left-hand side on the board, a woman's face

24. Even if Tsering was the husband of a woman, it was still possible that a second or a third brother of Tsering lived as her husband in the house.

is to be seen and next to this as many crosses as the "pious offerer of gifts" (25) is old. If the woman (the widow) is for instance 25 years of

25. The widow of the deceased man, who offers up gifts for the salvation of her husband.

age, then 25 crosses are carved into the board. When all this is completed, the onpo offers up a drink offering (gser-skyem) before this whole (magical apparatus). This is called the "closing of the heavenly portal." If the heavenly portal were not to be closed, the inhabitants of the house would suffer harm (through the demons that have been set free). When the portal of the earth is opened and it is not closed, it is believed that damage will be suffered among the crosses in the livestock (26).

26. For instance, among the dso (a cross between a yak bull and an Indian cow) /second parenthesis supplied by translator,

764
787
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since omitted in text./, the mules, and others.

The closing of the portal of the earth proceeds in the same way as the closing of the portal of heaven described above. However, in this case a dog's skull, instead of a ram's skull, is painted, and not the word "Khen," but the word "Khon" (27) is written on it. This is

27. The Old Khon, the earth mother, mistress of all earth demons and earth spirits, corresponds to the Old Khen, the lord of the heavenly spirits.

called the Great Seal (on the portal of the earth, which prevents the demons from escaping).

/221/ The Influence of the Day of Death and of the Hour of Death

Now, since Tsering died on the 28th day of the month, on the pig day, (so it says in the horoscope): He was born as a magician in a previous existence. (After that former existence) he died in the sixth month of the dragon year.

Since Tsering died around the dragon hour, after sunrise, (it says in the horoscope): He died around the time of the (first) warmth of the sun (around 10 o'clock) (28). The devil (bdud) deprived him of

28. In the narrow valleys of Tibet the sun rises, if at all, very late.

life at the break of day. The devils and the Tsan (bt'san) have acted upon him as killers (gśed). The killers accordingly came from the northwest, and used yellow leather things as a hiding place. Even now they are still hidden in them. Hang out a yellow flag and a hairy hide. At first the (chief) killer appeared as a dragon, then, after 11 days, as an ox. That is bad for the bird year and the ox year persons, as well as for the little boys in the house. Then, again, the death demon was changed into the body of a snake. You must make a picture of a snake and must set this up at a point where many roads meet, after you have pressed it inside a pig's skull. Later the demon again hid himself in a small leather sack in the East.

When a woman dies and her spirit walks about in the house,

powerful ceremonies must be held. She will assume the body of a horse for ten years. For the deceased woman (the book) rdo-rje gĉod-pa stoñ-rtsa (the thousand Dorje Chodpa), and (the book) mdzañs-blun (the wise man and the fool), must be read. Then she will be born as the "Goddess of the small light." But unless this is done, she will be born in the body of the sublime White Bird (29). 764 787 789

29. Probably a mythical creature of Bon mythology. Compare notes 80 to 81 in the main sections!

Evil Magical Signs

Since Tsering's Sparka sign in his 42nd year of life (the year of his death) had turned out to be the Khon (sign), it says in the horoscope: When someone dies under the Khon sign, the Jaksha demons carry off (his soul). If a woman dies (under this /222/ sign), then her dying (being reborn) is all over. If a husband dies in this way, then matters are bad (for him); then the earth demons carry him (his soul) off. Tsering died with his face turned either to the south or to the north--the retribution for his "Black Changing" (30). It is (also) bad for the old

30. His dying in sin.

people and for the invalids, as well as for the livestock. If the person concerned (who dies under the Khon sign) is reborn, then he will take pleasure in continual eating and drinking (debauchery), and in bow and arrow (31).

31. The sinful weapons of murder.

Now the death demon is once again inside the black leather bag The leather bag is to be placed down on the ground by a fork in the road. Then the demon will go to an old, invalid man. A hare's skull and various kinds of wood are to be placed on the corpse (of Tsering), in order to prevent this. Then the demon again hides in the northeast. He hides in the buttermilk of cow and sheep Now in the southwest the demon slips into a sheep year woman. Later he goes again to where there is a cow and a yellow checkered watch dog (sgo-k'yi). Then again he conceals himself with a married couple in a box or in a roll of yellow cloth or in a front leg (of meat) which has been cut and

764 787 ●789 [827]

and left lying about. The "sap of death" (gśin-rlun) (32) is caused by

32. According to the physiology of the Tibetans and the Indians, as well as of Aryan peoples in olden times, the functions of the body and of the mind of human beings depend upon the proper functioning of the three bodily juices (humors, Tibetan, nyespa-gsum) which circulate along particular channels inside the body. These are air, gall, and slime. If the functioning of the "Three Juices" is disrupted, then diseases or nervous disorders arise; gsin-rlun, meaning "juice /or sap/ of death, causing death."

the evil Sparka sign.

The winding sheets for the corpse must be blue; the door of re-birth (ĉad-sgo) is in the east, because in the southwest the hostile earth spirit(earth naga) has arisen. A chorten is to be built with blue bumpa (33). On the steps of the chorten human bones are to be crushed in order

33. Bumpa; meaning the cone-shaped middle part of the chorten.

to overcome the evil spirits. The books "Of the grave" and "Of the prayer of the old woman" (abum daṅ gres-mo źus-pa) are to be read. The door of the grave is closed by an ox and a sheep. Paint the grave white at the top (34). Press the seal of the Sparka-Khon on it! It is

34. Probably with the skulls of these animals. The grave stone serves as a receptacle for the ashes of the cremated body.

good to ascertain thro gh the "burning of the mask" whether (the battle) is to be risked or not. Eighteen years--that is a man's age. But if he dies through Khon (the anger of the earth mother), then the door of death is opened. If an old woman dies, then the portal of death is closed. Since the signs of the year of a mouse year person and of a pig year person are hostile (towards Tsering), /223/ these people are not allowed to perform any kind of preparations on the dead man.

Since the Red Nine turned up as Tsering's Mewa sign, it says in the horoscope: If someone dies under sign of the Red Nine, then the demon of death will conceal himself in a cow or in some red object. These thing are to be carried out of the house. If the man died during the day the ceremony of the god Schiwa (lha-dbaṅ-p'yug), of the Golden

String Cross (zer-mdos), and of the Bloody String Cross (k'rag-mdos) is to be performed. Since disaster is approaching, the Yang-agug ceremony must be performed. A statue of the Bodhisattva Manjusri (ajam-dbyaṅs) is to be set up. 764 787 789

Which Days of the Week, Dates in the Month, and Hours of the Day are favorable for a Funeral

In the "calculation of retribution" (abras-rtsis) (35) it is stated

35. The title of a book.

that the four days of the week, Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday are very favorable days for the preparations on the body. Since Tsering died on the 28th, a Thursday, the religious exercises can be held for three days, from Friday to Sunday, after the "changing of the body" has been carried out on Thursday. The Monday is the second day of the first, that is, the Fire-Mouse, month; the constellation (k'rums-smad) (36) of this month is favorable for the preparations on

36. The astronomy of Tibet names 30 constellations through which the moon travels in the course of one month: k'rums-smad is the 25th in the series. [821]

the corpse. But since Tsering was a snake year person, his corpse may not be carried out of the house at the snake hour (37). It must be taken

37. Around 11 o'clock in the forenoon.

away either earlier or later. This applies not only with respect to the respect to the deceased, but also with respect to the surviving inhabitants of the house (38); namely that when the zodiacal sign of the year of

38. Insofar as they take part in carrying the corpse out.

the birth (of the persons concerned) corresponds with the animal sign of the hour of the day, the corpse may not be carried out of the house at such an hour. But if the corpse has to be carried out quickly under all circumstances, then the black magician (nag-rtsis-pa) must perform

764 the purification of the sins of the year (lo-sgrib), the sins of the
787 month (zla-sgrib), and of the other sins; and he must also perform
789 other ceremonies, if necessary. Then the corpse may be carried out.

/224/ Since Tsering was a snake year person, the snake year persons among his tribe and among the inhabitants of his house are forbidden not only to touch the corpse, but also even to look at it. But if the magician gives them the Nag-po dgu-t'ub amulet (39), they

39. /The text has two footnotes numbered 38, the second being clearly a misprint for 39. --translator./ The amulet which exorcizes the "Black Nine" (probably Bon demons).

may perform the preparations. Tsering's wife was undoubtedly supposed to carry her husband's body, but if she is a snake year woman she may not carry it either (nor touch it).

On the eight dates of the month, the first, the eighth, the ninth, the 18th, the 19th, 28th, 29th, and the 30th, no kind of preparations on the body are to be performed. On the other hand, the six dates of the fifth, the seventh, the 15th, 17th, 25th, and the 27th, are very favorable for these preparations; the remaining 16 dates have neither profit nor harm in them; this appears clearly from the book about the "calculation of retribution."

Since for seven days the disastrous elements (Sanskrit, skandha) (40), which fashioned the earthly body and which are called zin-puń,

40. Concerning the five skandha, see note 11.

float around, no kind of work, either good or evil, may be performed during these days. Now, if it is also stated that on the days of the zin-puń, the purification may not be carried out, then this means that as of recent times the onpos nevertheless do carry out the purification on the days named. Sometimes the corpse is even carried out of the house on these days.

The Signs of the Future Re-incarnation

"Since the Red Nine turned out to be the Mewa sign of the 42-year old Tsering, he would have to be reborn again as a dog and (later) as a donkey. But if you set up the image (the bronze or clay statue) of the Bodhisattva Byams-dbyańs (Sanskrit, Manjusri) in the

household temple, and if you have Mantras (magical formulas) recited, 764
in order to prevent this, he shall be reborn in the south in the land of 787
the Mon (India). These birth signs can be clearly seen from the book 789
'Khorlo' (meaning, 'wheel of the transmigration of souls'). " In this
way the magical priest explains in detail the birth signs and the ceremonies resulting from them to the "gift offerer" (layman). The onpo performs the necessary ceremonies in the manner of the Bon religion. Sometimes /225/ it also happens that when the exercises (of the lamas) are already completed (which bear a Buddhistic character), the exercises of the onposcontinue. The "gift offerer" has the idol manufacturer fashion up to twice daily for four days on end, in accordance with the birth signs of the deceased, images (clay figures) of the creatures (animals, human beings, gods) designated by the onpo, or also painted images (tanka) of the same.

The things given to the death demon for concealment are not thrown away. They are handed over to the magical priest. Not only that, also clothes, shoes (belonging to the deceased) and other things are given to the practitioner of black magic, who has performed the exercises. All the ceremonies, like gyaṅ-agug, gto-ĉos, the mdos (string cross, string star), the "Great Stag's Horn" (śa-ba-ru-rgyas), the "Four Seals, " and other exercises are indeed all Bon practices. A saying of the adherents of Bon goes: You have overcome a Persian, you have made a magical priest (41).

41. Among the Persian tribes in present-day Turkestan, the Bon religion conquered over the popular religion which was current there, and there came into existence that mixed religion of the Bon which has already been characterized, and which has a strong leaning towards Mahayana Buddhism. Yet here, more than in India or in Tibet, the cult of demons and magic remains an essential part of the religious activity of the priests. [771]

The Burial Practices of the Lamas (In Contradistinction to Those of the Onpos) 764

Even poor house owners call in four to five lamas who are equipped with drums, magical bells, cymbols, and other implements, (into their house). The rich call in as many lamas as they can possibly get to perform the burial ceremonies. Aside from a first donation

764 (p'ud) consisting of flour, at the "changing of the body," no further offering is demanded on this occasion. On the occasion of the performance of the death rites and the "burning of the paper" (sog-pa sreg-pa) (42) by the (reformed) Geldanpa lamas, three sacrificial cakes

42. The death mask made of paper is meant.

which are made of roasted barley flour, and which are called the "Three Roots" (43) are presented; in addition, three little offering

43. Offerings for the destruction of the "Three Root Sins": evil desire, hatred, and stupidity (Tibetan, rtsa-da gsum).

lamps, three brass bowls filled with barley and called gzi-nas (44),

44. Probably because this offering is dedicated to the gźi-bdag, the local deity.

as well as five or seven brass dishes filled with water are offered up. This water is called the sacrificial water (and it is offered in place of wine). Sometimes a relative (of the dead man) will also present an offering of 100 lamps, which is called the offering of the hundred /226/ lamps (rgya-mĉod), upon the occasion of the holding of the ceremonies.

Now, when, as in the case of the above-named Tsering, (funeral) ceremonies are held for four days on end, the expenses of one day are met by the house (of the deceased), the expenses of the three other days are paid by the relatives and the p'as-pun. Since the inhabitants 764 of the house honor the Yamantaka (Tibetan, ajigs-byed) as tutelary 789 deity, the lamas undertake the exorcisms which are called the bdag-skyed, mdun-skyed, bum-skyed, and bdog-ajug. When they perform these ceremonies they not only wear the bdaṅ dress (the magical vestment prescribed for this), but they also dress the corpse with this vestment (45). In winter they do not take this magical vestment off

45. To this also belong the magical implements: dorje, bell, drum, bone trumpet, and the like.

(the corpse) until the death ceremonies are completed. In summer the vestment (with the implements concerned) is taken off the corpse

as soon as the (above-named) exorcisms have been completed. 764

Poor people only have such exercises performed for one day. 789
Rich people, on the other hand, have them performed up to two weeks (and longer).

The "Burning of the Paper" (The Paper Mask)

Four days after the death, on the first day of the second segment of time (consisting each of four days), the "burning of the paper," the byaṅ-ćog, takes place. In the monastery, they (the monks) each have a carved printing plate with the picture of a man or a woman. Now since Tsering (the deceased) was a man, the picture of a man is printed on paper and his name--Tsering--is written on it. Then the (printed) paper is placed between the feathers of an arrow and a greeting ribbon (k'atag) is wound around the end of the (folded)together) paper. Now barley is poured into a measure (bre) (46) and placed before the

46. One bre (dry measure) contains two ample liters.

abbott (present). The arrow is stuck into the barley. Then the bdag-skyed and the other exercises are performed, as indicated above, and texts and formulas are recited. In order to annul the sins of the deceased, because of his trespasses, scattered offerings (bgegs-gtor) are presented to the demons /227/. Through the recital of magical texts the sins are also annulled. Furthermore, the purification from sins is brought about by the reading of the "Six Books of the Transcendent Wisdom (śes-rab-kyi p'a-rol-tu p'yin-pa; Sanskrit, prajnya paramita)"; further, the exculpation from sin is effected by the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, Law, Monkhood); finally, also, sins are done away with through the "Four Elements" (47). 764 783

47. The four elements are: earth, water, fire, and air. Sometimes ether is added as the fifth element.

When according to the instructions of the books (concerned), these exercises are completed, the corpse-bearer takes the arrow in place of the dead body, and sticks it in his sash (which he wears slung around his body), and sits down behind the seat of the deceased (which was his during his lifetime in the circle of his household companions). 764

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

595 Chapter III, B. — Social and Religious Life. 177

only one wife, unless she should have no son. Women are not married in Láhaul merely to till their husband's land. It is very common to engage labourers for that purpose."

The Buddhism of Spiti and of the higher parts of Páng in Chamba, the only portions of the Punjáb whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists, is the Lámáism of Tibet, perhaps the most utterly corrupt form of the religion of Gautama. We have already seen how largely, so soon as we enter the Himalayas, the Hindúism of the plains becomes impregnated with the demonology of the mountain tribes. A similar fate befell Buddhism in the mountain ranges of Central Asia. To the mysticism, with which the northern school had already clothed the original simple creed, have been added the magic and devil-worship of the Tantras and the impure cult of the female principle or Sakti, till the existing system is a superstition rather than a religion. "As in India the Bráhmans have declared all the ancient village *thákurs* and *devís* to be only so many different forms of Mahádeo and Parbati, so in Tibet the *lámás* have craftily grafted into their system all the ancient gods and spirits of the former inhabitants. Hence, though Buddhism is the prevailing religion of the country, yet the poorer people still make their offerings to their old divinities, the gods of the hills, the woods and the dales. The following are some of the classes of deities which are worshipped under distinct Tibetan names: Mountain Gods, River Gods, Tree Gods, Family Gods, Field Gods, and House Gods. The mystical system of the Tantrists has been engrafted on the Buddhism of Nepal and Tibet, and the pictures of the prevailing sects are filled with representations of the three-eyed destroying Iswara and of his blood-drinking spouse,* while the esoteric doctrines include the filthy system of Buddha Saktis, or female energies of the Pancha Dhyáni Buddhas, in which the *yoni*, or female symbol, plays a prominent part." The wrath of Káli is daily deprecated in the religious service of the temples,† trumpets made of human thigh bones are used, and offerings are made to the Buddhas in which even meat is included, though one of the precepts most rigidly insisted on by Gautama was a regard for animal life. The priests "foretell events, determine lucky and unlucky times, and pretend to regulate the future destiny of the dying, threatening the niggard with hell, and promising heaven, or even eventually the glory of a Buddha, to the liberal. Their great hold upon the people is thus derived from their gross ignorance, their superstitions, and their fears; they are fully imbued with a belief in the efficacy of enchantments, in the existence of malevolent spirits, and in the superhuman sanctity of the *lámás* as their only protection against them. The *lámás* are therefore

The Buddhism of the Punjáb Himalayas. 779 177 776 779 177 [796] 787 [793] 779 789

* The image of Iswara has a snake round his waist, carries a thunderbolt or a sword in his right hand, and is trampling human beings beneath his feet. He is represented as frantic with anger, his eyes staring, his nostrils dilated, his mouth wide open, and his whole body surrounded by flames. His spouse is of a blood-red colour, and wears a necklace of skulls; in her right hand is a sceptre surmounted by skulls and the holy thunderbolt, while with her left she carries a cup of blood to her mouth. A circle of flames surrounds her body.

† This service is described at length in Chapter XIII of Cunningham's Ladákh; it bears no little resemblance to the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The Buddhism of the Panjáb Himalayas.

constantly exorcists and magicians, sharing no doubt very often the credulity of the people, but frequently assisting faith in their superhuman faculties by jugglery and fraud."

Prayer has been reduced to a mechanical operation, and the praying-wheel is a triumph of the Tibetan genius.* It consists of a cylinder turning on an axis and containing sacred texts and prayers, or sometimes gibberish, whose only merit is that it has a sort of rhythm. It is made of all sizes, from the pocket wheel to be turned on the hand as one walks along, to the common wheel of the village, which is turned by water, and prays for the community in general. Each revolution is equivalent to a recital of the prayer contained in the cylinder. Flags inscribed with prayers are fixed at the corners of the houses, and answer a similar purpose as they flap in the wind. Every village has its *mani* or stone dyke, sometimes nearly half a mile long, on which are flung small pieces of slate inscribed with mystic formulæ. "These slabs are votive offerings from all classes of people for the attainment of some particular object. Does a childless man wish for a son, or a merchant about to travel hope for safe return; does a husbandman look for a good harvest or a shepherd for the safety of his flocks during the severity of the winter? Each goes to a *lámá* and purchases a slate which he deposits carefully on the village *mani*, and returns home in full confidence that his prayer will be heard." These *manis* must always be left on the right hand, and people will make considerable detours in order to do so. Small shrines are erected in the fields to propitiate the deities and obtain an abundant harvest. The dead are sometimes burnt and the ashes preserved, in the case of great men, in a cenotaph; but corpses are often exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers.

The Hindú Buddhism of Láhaul.

Spiti is the only portion of British territory whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists. But though the Census figures shown in the margin would draw a line of the sharpest and most definite kind between the religions of Hindúism and Buddhism where they meet in the mountains of the Kúlu sub-division, yet the actual line of demarcation is by no means so clearly marked. On this subject Mr. Alexander Anderson, the officer in charge of Kúlu, writes:—

Tract.	Hindú.	Buddhist.	Musalmán.	Others.
Kúlu	99,626	...	622	21
Láhaul ...	5,606	...	25	20
Spiti	1	3,180	...	1

"In Kúlu, including *wazírí* Rúpi and outer and inner Seoráj, the population is Hindú with scarcely an exception. In Spiti the only religion is Buddhism. In Láhaul there is a mixture of Hindúism and Buddhism. Since the last Census, Hindúism in Láhaul has advanced, and Buddhism

* The praying wheel is peculiar to Tibet, where it was generally used at least as early as 400 A. D.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4 Spiti

[P. 51]

Dancing

635 All the people dance on occasions of merriment, — girls and men. At Kuling, while the Buzhans were dancing six or eight girls joined in.

554 535. Professional dancing women are looked down and the peasant-proprietors will not eat with them. They are not usually prostitutes, though the unmarried ones may be.

III.

Objects connected with Religion.

Cenotaphs.

778 Strictly speaking, the **chorten** is an object of worship; the dungten is a bone receptacle. The *chorten*, usually made of wood, is the substitute for the *dungten*, which contains the bones of some abbot or saint and is situated too far away for practical worship.

Such is the origin, but in modern usage the *chorten* is merely a Buddhist symbol, and like a brass *deota*, may have no relation to any special *dungten* or to the bones of any particular saint.

Altars.

778 788 Heaps of stones are erected to local spirits— to the *lha* of the pass or ravine and so on,— and every passer-by adds a stone or a horn. Horns are more acceptable to the *lha* than stones and the most acceptable gift is a *lungta* (cloth with prayers printed on it).

Every traveller adds a stone, even if in a strange place, where he does not know to which *lha* the altar has been erected. A white stone is the best. Black stones are from the evil spirits and are never placed on the heap. Usually a fallen stone is replaced and only when there are no fallen stones is a fresh one sought for.

A *lungta* is only added on special occasions. Thus, when a merchant sets out on a trading venture, he leaves a *lungta* containing a prayer for his success, his name and the name of the year.

IV.

Superstitions.

Magic Dagger.

● 787 The *dorje phurpa* or magic dagger is used by the *choba*, attendant on the sick, and by the

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

789 Bushans of Pin. It has three edges and an elaborate handle.

An old trick of the Bushans, which I have seen them perform, is to wave the magic dagger over a stone and then to place the stone on a man's chest and break it in two by hurling another stone on to it.

Amulets.

751 The *shungwa* is an amulet containing a paper, with *mantras* and prayers against sickness, falling stones and so on, written by some well-known abbot.

The *chhoh shun* is an amulet specially worn during a journey.

Lucky and unlucky days.

777 Special days are lucky or unlucky for special acts; *e. g.*, starting on a journey, cutting a crop, sowing a field, and so on. Everyone knows these, and *lámas* are only consulted for special occasions.

Unlucky days for journeys, when there is no time to wait, are thus evaded. All you have to do is to walk 20 or 30 paces in the opposite direction to that of your journey and you can go on your way rejoicing.

There are no lucky days for crossing the Spiti River.

[793] Unlucky days for actions, which must be performed, are thus evaded. Call a *láma* to read certain *mantras* and pay him a fee in money or grain and all will be well.

Hares.

262 The people of Spiti will not eat hares, as they hold them to be a kind of donkey. The name for them (*ribong*) means wild ass.

Earthquakes.

823 The God of the Earth is a frog and occasionally shakes it, as it is balanced on his back.

Deformities.

732
777 A child born with an extra finger is lucky, but a child born with the number short or with the fingers incomplete is unlucky. The people do not admit killing off such children.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the Indus, we do not meet the Khampa much in Ladak, but as soon as we get into Zankskar, he is ubiquitous. Does the lady of those regions need cloth with which to make her shirt, or needle and thread with which to sew it, the Khampa will supply them. Should the bridegroom need a nice button for his coat, he has only to apply to the same source. One of our lady missionaries ran out of needles for her sewing machine, which, moreover, was of a German make, but why worry with Khampas accessible, for, after having supplied the said needles, no doubt the Gipsy said in the approved Tibetan fashion—" And the next, please." But not only does he sell things, he also buys and is especially keen on Zankskari and Spitti ponies. All likely four-year-old ponies are very welcome to him, for whilst he buys them for about Rs 60, he sells them at three or four times that amount down-country. When it comes to horse-dealing he has nothing to learn from his English confrère. We ourselves were anxious to buy a Zankskari pony, but had not succeeded in picking up what we wanted. But one day we struck a Khampa's camp, and thought we would try to get one from them. There at the foot of the hills, on the way down from a high pass, stood five tents in a semi-circle.

The Khampa's tent is quite distinctive. Two ordinary poles which fork above, taken, no doubt, from the poplars which grow in the country, are used as uprights, and across the top of these another is laid over which is stretched a plain piece of canvas, fastened by ropes to wooden pegs or stones. At the bottom of this many hiatuses are left, which are conveniently filled up with the bales containing their merchandise. At the top of the uprights a flag is stuck; this, however, is not placed there to signify the presence of royalty or its representative, but to keep out the evil spirits or to welcome the good. Behind their camp on the hills, their many ponies are seen cropping the grass, and, incidentally giving the order to the camp to move on when all this has been eaten. As we ride

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1924-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the two horns which grew from his head were an outward and visible sign. It was to accommodate these he had to have this hat designed.

The procession has now passed through the bazar, and we follow it out to the desert. There the fires have been lit, illuminating the weird devil-dancing lamas as they gyrate and jump round them. At a given moment all the *storma* are thrown into the flames, and with their burning the sin and disease of the town are consumed. Soon after our first arrival in Leh, we witnessed these ceremonies, and, wishing in our ignorance to investigate the effigies, some were bought for a few *pice* (coppers) and brought to our houses. That year a serious epidemic of throat disease broke out in the country, carrying off old and young. What else could be expected when the scapegoats had been brought back into the town instead of being thrown away? Now the erection of twigs is knocked over, and every man makes a mad rush to obtain even a small piece if he can, which is carried home in triumph and placed on one of the outer walls of the house, thus protecting its inmates from disease and death, or, if it is put into their store-room, much blessing will accrue to their grain.

A little later a similar ceremony is performed for the special benefit of the Maharajah. Holy books having been read for seven days, a scapegoat, consisting of an effigy the size of a man, is prepared. Placed in the region of its heart is a bottle of red fluid, and it is then set up in the wilderness. A company of sepoys in smart khaki uniforms marches out behind lamas dressed in fantastic clothes and devil-masks, the combination quite belying Kipling's statement that "East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet." They take careful aim, even lying down to do so, but in spite of many rounds being fired, the effigy is never hit, and eventually cruder methods have to be adopted for its destruction. This cannot be wondered at, for is not the effigy bewitched?

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

because she simply could not keep awake otherwise. At the end of a month the burning of incense purifies the mother, and she may again handle the culinary utensils, while the birth-feast is now celebrated, in which all the houses of the village should at least be represented. In Leh, however, with its 8,000 or more inhabitants, this would be almost an impossibility, so this like other ceremonies, has had to be modified. Thus, to see the real customs of the country one must go to the villages. Every guest brings with him to the feast a pot of barley-meal called *Marzan*. All the contributions are now mixed together, and each lady present partakes of the joint dish. This is called the *Dargang*. The *Ming tagches*, which means the " tying-on " of a name, is postponed till a convenient season, this being the coming of a *Skushog*, who is requested to select a suitable designation. Sometimes caution also calls for a postponement of the christening, for evil spirits are keen on boys, and the name may give away the sex. However, if necessary, one can camouflage this by "tying" a girl's name on to a boy. Until the naming, a boy is called *Brogpa*, or his little sister *Brogma*, for what could be more ugly than these old Dardish descendants ? Evil spirits prefer pretty children, but would have no desire to carry off a *Brogpa* child ! Sometimes *Ming tagches* is quite omitted, and then this opprobrious appellation has to be borne throughout life. Thoroughly to cheat these foolish spirits, it is a good plan to make the children look as hideous as their namesakes by drawing a dirty black mark across the forehead over the bridge to the tip of the nose. Sometimes it is necessary to push the delusion still further. The sad parents have lost three or four children, and how can they save their latest arrival ? They have already called it *Brogpa* and made it as hideous as one of these gentlemen, so now only one thing remains to be done—it must be sent to live with these disgusting people, and failing these, to a Mon blacksmith or musician.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

585 bride. Before arriving at her future home, the bride and her
● [784] escort are met by lamas who perform the service of *Gyagsrod*, that is, the driving away of any evil spirits which may have chosen to accompany the bride, and whose presence is not desired in her new abode. For this purpose the members of the future home have sent a new unused pot filled with dregs, which the lamas, after preliminary incantations, break, and with it throw away a *storma* or strewing oblation.

The lamas now enter the bridegroom's house, and the leader of the *nyopas* follows with the bride. Her new mother-in-law comes to meet her on the threshold of the living-room, bringing a plate on which is a present reposing on some barley, which latter serves to enhance the apparent size of the former. This plate is given to the bride's-maid, or *spamo*, but before receiving it, the bride must salute her new mother,
[595] who reciprocates the greeting. The mother then leads her into the living-room, where, if she is only to marry one boy, she finds him sitting on a carpet, bearing the mystic sign and wearing the white head-dress; but if the brothers are also included, they all sit similarly side by side, while near them is an empty carpet for her, upon which is the sign "*nor bu gyas a kyil*," meaning "jewel."

When all, including the *nyopas*, are thus seated in a row, the bridegroom's mother rises and salutes the *nyopas* in turn, after which the bride and bridegroom are taken into the store-room and given refreshments, the leader of the *nyopas* accompanying them. Their plates having been filled, the leading *nyopa* removes their head-dresses, putting them on a plate. Then he says, "Which is quicker, bride or bridegroom?" at which challenge they compete with each other at snatching the food off their plates. In this little store-room the happy couple live for some days, and each of the near relatives brings them a small piece of the *drangyas* (cake) and presents. The *nyopas* spend the night dancing at the house, with only the shortest interval for sleep.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

A similar rise in the social scale occurs with the Spiti magicians, who visit Ladak every summer. These gentlemen are of quite low caste in their own country, but here they are addressed in the language of respect, being known as the *Mani-pas* or "prayer-men." Wearing long red robes, they are, however, distinguished from lamas by the absence of caps, and by long hair plaited up in braids, close to their heads in front and hanging down to their waists behind, giving a curiously effeminate effect to their moustached faces. Their entertainments are closely bound up with religion, in fact their name, the *Mani-pa*, has been given to them on account of this and their constant attention to their hand *manis* or prayer-wheels. When about to give a show, they first arrange an altar in the form of a couple of banners behind a table with sacred lamps and vessels for barley and other offerings. In front of this they dance with swords, at first slowly, then with increasing excitement until the climax is reached by running forward, placing their feet on the ground, raising their bodies, and apparently balancing them on the points of their swords, which are placed in the armpits, abdomen, or even cheeks. This effect is really achieved by sufficiently straightening and stiffening the arms. They also pierce their cheeks, through an old scar, with swords and long needles. Their masterpiece of magic is the breaking of a large stone by one of them on the abdomen of the other. This, of course, is preceded by a lot of incantation and dancing round the latter, who lies on his back on the ground with the small boulder balanced carefully on his abdomen, and, at the right moment, this is made to fall apart into two halves by beating upon it with a big stone. For some days previously the actual boulder is sought for on the desert hillside around with considerable trouble and selected with great care, while the one on whom it is balanced has to hold his breath throughout the performance of the trick. They also beat the abdomen with swords, which process is also rendered harmless by the trick of inflation.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

789 Unfortunately this performance of breaking the boulder has
791 twice led to fatalities in Ladak, by children trying to imitate it on one of their small companions.

535 But, besides the dancing of monks and magicians, Ladak
[182] has its own country dances for pure pleasure. Perhaps the ordinary women's dancing has a slight religious element, for in the course of it, the right hand is raised, and the gestures made to signify the plucking of a flower, the opening out of the bud into blossom, and then its presentation to the gods.
[174] But even these motions of the hand are said to originate in the old Dard custom of greeting each other by raising the arm, and moving the closed fist to and fro. The rest of the dance is very slow and monotonous, though Ladakis themselves never seem to tire of it, and it is performed on every festive occasion. The ladies certainly look quite picturesque with their broad well-turquoised *perags*, their gay capes, quaint turned-up embroidered shoes, and wristlets of chased silver or white shell, which they knock together in respectful salutation to the King, or presiding official, at the beginning and end of the dance. Their capes in winter are of long white sheeps' wool, covered on the outside with large squares of green and red cloth. In the heat of summer they are replaced by fringed capes with Kashmir or Yarkandi embroidery, or,
651 better still, beautifully worked Chinese silk. The women who take part in these dances are members of a certain superior grade of the farming land-owners, each household of which has to provide a woman dancer for the King, who must come whenever he summons her. There is thus nothing of the immoral Indian nautch about this historical country dance.
535 The services of these respectable women are especially
796 exacted in winter, when for some days at the New Year and the festival of *Dosmoche* they must dance daily. In return for this they enjoy the food and festivities of the royal household.
535 Formerly there were about thirty, now only seven usually turn out, who certainly cannot claim to have been

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

metal spoons, brass and copper tea-pots or other utensils, robes and other garments of Chinese design, turquoises, jade ornaments, furs and small carpets. Some of these visitors travel very simply, with minimum of servants and luggage ; others prefer a voyage de luxe with a long train of both. The former when invited to dinner, would fain accept, but regret they " have only shorts," and are happy to be assured that this is quite correct evening kit in Leh. The latter bring full evening dress, and one of these evoked a facetious comment from our man-servant. Unlike the custom prevailing in India, we train women-servants for the work in the house, while a man combines all the functions of water-bringer, gardener, groom, etc. This gentleman was asked to light a fire on the second occasion when a certain Mem Sahib was expected to dinner, although in this land of scarce fuel we had not thought of beginning fires for ourselves yet. His concise comment was, " Much meat, little clothes."

Then there are visitors who are specialists in some particular line of research, and, in the short twelve years during which we have been closely connected with Ladak, we have had among our visitors botanists, geologists, ornithologists, archæologists and topographers ; also devotees of the camera, even of the cinema, besides those of the brush, who comprise a list in themselves, from the mystic type of picture painter, the etcher, the futurist, and the straightforward colourist (if we may coin the term), to the lightning or snapshot sketcher. Some of these specialists have been organized into expeditions, such as the Anglo-Italian one, led by Sir Filippo De Filippi in 1913-14, and which passed on into the Karakorams and the Depsang Plateau, but was brought to an abrupt conclusion by the outbreak of the Great War. It comprised many experts in different sciences, and those who were engaged in gravimetric observations in the course of their investigations sent up several air balloons in Leh. These eventually descended in the surrounding

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

villages, and were the cause of much wonder and fear, out of which the lamas made a rich harvest by exercising the evil influences they were supposed to disseminate. This expedition was also able to receive in Leh wireless messages from Dehra Dun, perhaps a foretaste of broadcasting, even across the Himalayas. The Dutch expedition of 1922, and again in 1925, as we write, at work on the glaciers of the Karakorums, led by Mr. and Mrs. Visser with their Swiss guides must also be noted. Then there are our political visitors in the consular service, who occasionally come through this way from Central Asia, and even China, to say nothing of the interesting patients we have, not only medical, but occasionally mental, and we may say even moral, referring to those who unfortunately did not feel bound by promises contained in their signed passports.

Not only do these people keep our small European community busy during the visiting season, but in the long closed winter, and indeed all the year round, they solicit many favours. Thus the Doctor Sahib himself has been asked to collect butterflies, birds and their eggs, algae and fungi, ferns, flowers, stamps, curios and even mosquitoes by sundry enthusiasts, to say nothing of requests being made for long dissertations on the Buddhism and mysteries of Tibet by unknown theosophists in the Antipodes. Thus, among our acquaintances made in this relatively isolated spot of Central Asia, we may number, besides those of adjacent countries and our own British Islands, men and women from America, Norway, Sweden, Holland Switzerland, France, Austria, Italy, Russia, Persia, China and Japan, so that there is no doubt that the lure of Ladak is a real fact. Some of these travellers rush into print on the subject of their visits here, and we read their journalistic efforts with interest, sometimes amusement, others weave light stories of travel, while some of the deeper students engage in profound treatises on their own special subjects. Even a close connection of twelve

16: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

When all the male members of the community have assembled at a given spot, their lighted *haldras* are all piled in a heap to form a large bonfire. Whilst this is burning, the *rai-gen* offering is produced, and pills of this are scattered towards a sacred juniper tree, whilst the remainder of this offering is thrown to the blacksmiths engaged to beat the village drums. This done, the males, each seizing a burning stick from the bonfire, form themselves into a circle. Holding the blazing sticks, one of the number beating time the while, says in a sing-song voice: *Hai sha mäi sha* (a magic spell with no meaning that I can discover), whereupon all repeat the spell in unison.

Old man (in the crowd): *Kar-dang rana ba-wa*—(a curse on a Rāṇa of Kardang who in ancient times oppressed the Lahulis).[1]

Crowd: Hai sha.

Old Man: Gus-pa rana sho sha (a curse on a Rāṇa at Gus).[2]

Crowd: Hai sha.

Old Man: Chū-mig' cham chim (a spell).

Crowd: Hai sha.

Old Man: Lang-ma pan-pön (a spell).

Crowd: Hai sha.

Then in great excitement, with drums beating, and shrill whistling with fingers placed to the mouth, all the lighted sticks are thrown hither and thither. The cup which contained the *rai-gen* offering is now filled with snow. This is carried in the hand and deposited on a shelf in one of the apartments of the house. When the snow in this receptacle melts, the water is poured into the family ration of soup or tea.

The same night on which the *haldra* ceremony is held, the first circle of butter-and-flour thumb impressions is made on the wall of each house. For each day a similar circle is described until the seventh day. This is called *Shis-kar-appa* (8).

Second day (*Shīl*).—At daybreak, a woman in the house must rise and make a circle of butter-and-flour thumb impressions on the *shis-kar-appa*. Whilst performing this duty she says: *Chod, chod* (Eat this offering), addressing the god of the New Year. She next sprinkles the *kal-chor* offering with a small branch of juniper. Then, offering the following prayer, she continues making her butter-and-flour thumb impressions on the wall:—

Rgyal-po Bal-la-raza
(Oh King Balaraza)

Ser-gi ka-ī bara chod gyō (*Ser* = T. *gser*, gold)
(Grant me a pillar of gold);

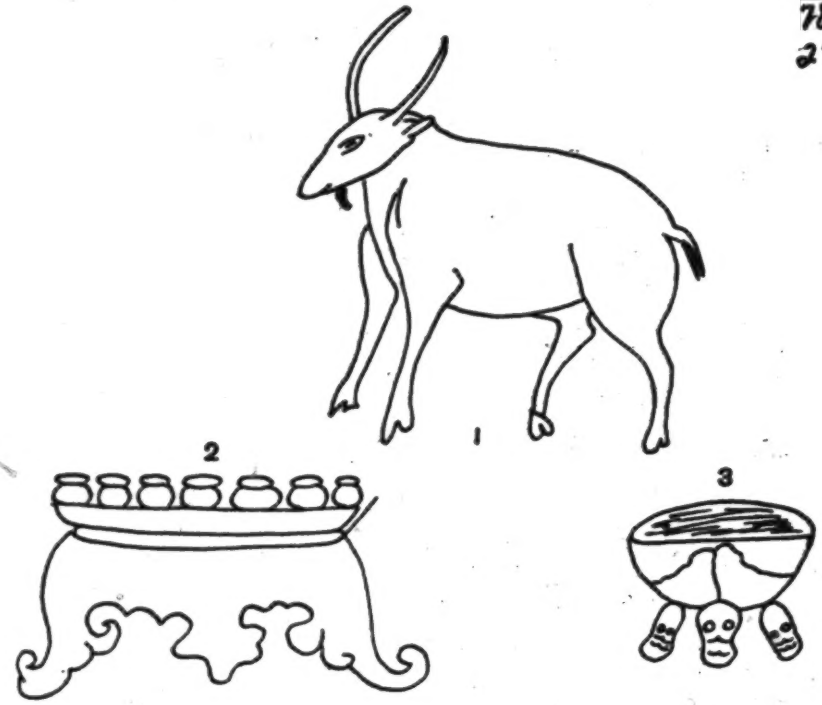
Mul-gi ka-ī bara chod gyō (*Mul* = T. *dngul*, silver)
(Grant me a pillar of silver);

Yu-i ka-ī dung-ma bara chod gyō (*yu-i* = T. *gyu*, turquoise: *dung-ma* = T. *gdung-ma*, beam—H. L. S.)
(Grant me a cross-beam of turquoise);

[1] Probably means "Shoot (*ba-ya*) the rāṇa of Kardang."
[2] Probably means "May the rāṇa of Gus be destroyed."—H. L. S.

Zo: Arbos M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4 Ladak

On the 3rd day part of the offerings already mentioned are devoted to the moon with the words: "Happy life, happy new year, happy day, happy stars." In cases where the housewife has not been able to forestall the theft of the offerings by the children, fresh ones must be made and



1. *Skyin*. Dough effigy of an Ibex. (4" long from crest to rump.) 2. *Chu-Pud*. These 7 cups of water used for sacrificial purposes are placed on a table as illustrated. 3. Nang-mchod. Vessel of beer made from a human skull. Sometimes the blood of sacrificed animals is placed in this bowl.

offered. The remainder of the *Skyin* and *Pe-Rak* offerings are then distributed to the children, a girl giving the *Pe-Rak* offering to another of her own sex, and a boy bestowing the *Skyin* offering to a male companion. The sport of arrow-shooting (*Da Rgyab-Ches*) is indulged for two days, followed ten days subsequently by one day of this sport.

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corrupted from *lal*, ruby, it having been the ruby in the crown of the old Ladakhi kings. *Dosmoche* and *nagrang* are both non-buddhist festivals. Although the *klu's* or water-snakes have nothing to do with them, they are Bon festivals, but attended by many buddhist priests and laymen. All evil spirits of the winter are driven into a cake, which is burnt outside the village. In Leh the fetish is formed of *mdosmo's*, see Jäschke's dictionary. In Mashro it is a black one. According to a different derivation this festival is called 'the black one' on account of the black coat of *Langdarma's* murderer whose deed is praised then.

5. (*a*) དཔལ་ཐུགས་གི་དགུ་གཏོར་དང་ལུགས་ཁོག་ཟམ།

(*b*) spithŭggi rgu'stor dang lug' khog zam'.

(*c*) At the time of the *rgustor* festival at *Spithug* [the heat] is like a sheep.

(*d*) Often said instead of the former.

(*e*) The name of the village Spithŭg is said to have been formerly *dpethug*, 'the arrived at likeness." The monastery of Spithŭg was built after the picture of a famous monastery in Lhassa. *Rgustor* is a *Comp. determ.* composed of *nyergu* = 29 and *storma*, offering. The devils are urged to enter a large cake, offered to them and the cake is burned outside the village. 29 is the date of the festival.

6. (*a*) ས་ལ་སྐྱ་རེ་སྔོ་རེ། མི་ལ་སྐྱིད་རེ་སྡུག་རེ།

(*b*) sa'la skya're sngo're mi'la skyid're, dŭg're.

(*c*) On the ground [it is] alternately grey and green, with man [there is] one turn fortunate, one turn unfortunate.

(*d*) See 1 (*d*).

(*e*) In Ladakhi a single *re* has often the meaning of some, for instance *lorela*, in some years. Here *re* forms *Composita* with *skyabo*, *sngonpo*, etc.

7. (*a*) ཁ་ལ་སྐྱང་དུ་འཁོར་དུས།
ཅི་གོན་པའྱང་དེ་ཅི་ཟཧྨི་དུས།།

(*b*) kha' ran'gu khor'dus, ci' gonbud'de, ci' zā dus'.

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585 on the floor in a deep niche for us to sit upon. Other guests, native, were already there, and they greeted us politely as we sat down.

We had hardly been there a few minutes, when the bridal procession was heard arriving. Two drumming Garas preceded it, and they were followed by the bride herself, completely trussed up in a white sheet and carried bodily on the back of a man. These two were followed in turn by a crowd of women led by three young men whom I heard are called *nya-opa* (*gNya-ao-pa*) meaning "witness". They had flowers and bits of straw in their hats and wore colourful clothes. It seemed that three of them (including the man carrying the bride) had always to be related to the bridegroom, while the two others need only be of his village.

[583] All these people had been to fetch the bride from her home, and they had done it in the traditional way, which was to steal her. She had been surprised in the fields while she was at work, covered by the sheet in which she was now wrapped, and carried away by one of the *nya-opa*, the *Na-tri-pa* (*sNa-aK'hrid-pa*), literally "the one who conducts (the bride) by the nose". She put up a show of resistance and, as she arrived near the house in which we waited, she was crying out and bemoaning her fate in truly traditional way. This is compulsory, it appears, in order to give the impression that the girl is modest and respectable, unwilling to leave her parents and be married off to some strange man (or men). Should she walk of her own accord to her future hunsbands' house, for instance, it would be considered the height of indecency, giving the impression that she wanted to leave her old home and go to that of her betrothed.

The white bundle which was the bride was deposited in the yard of the house at the feet of a woman standing there. Upon enquiry, I heard that the latter was a relative of the bridegrooms, and now had a role to play. Sure enough, as soon as the bride touched the ground, the woman sat down beside her, and the new arrival collapsed ceremoniously across her knees, continuing to wail and to cry out in a perfect performance. The Gara drummers settled down opposite, on the other side of the yard, and continued to beat their instruments as loudly as they could, as if they wanted to drown the laments of the wailing bride.

585 589 Three lamas from the local monastery then came out of the house. The first one carried a stone slab with three little figures kneaded out of *tsampa* (*Tsam-pa*) (barley flour) on it, one of them with a lighted candle in front of it and another with a little pillar, also made of *tsampa*, standing before it. These were called *tsa-sum* (*Ts'ha-gSum*), and were

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figures connected with getting rid of evil spirits. The second monk carried a *drilbu* (*dril-bu*) or bell, and a *dorje* (*rDorJe*) or *vajra* thunderbolt, those ubiquitous instruments of Tibetan lamaist ritual. The third one carried a plate full of glowing charcoal embers.

On reaching the sobbing bride and the woman over whose knee she was bent, the priests lit the candle of the *tsa-sum* and dropped powdered incense onto the burning coals. The plate containing these, now smoking copiously, was placed below the girl's dress so as to fumigate her from below of any evil that she might have brought with her. The *tsa-sum* was passed repeatedly and slowly over her, clockwise, to the accompaniment of muttered prayers, and then thrown away over a nearby hedge with much whistling and shouting from the onlookers and even the sound of a shot being fired somewhere close to the house. Thakur Partap Chand explained that the *tsa-sum*, loaded with the evil which the girl had brought with her and which had been chased out of her by the fumes and smoke from the charcoal, had now been thrown away; a gun had been fired to kill the devils who were trying to escape, while the object of the shouting and whistling by the onlookers was to frighten away those devils who had not been hit.

Once all this was finished, the *Nya-opa* put shoes on the bride, who had arrived without any. She struggled and protested against this action, saying, as she traditionally should, that she did not want them. Ornaments were next placed on her while she made further protests, refusing to change her posture which was still that of lying prostrate over her woman companion's knee. The girl in the elaborate dress who had offered us *chang* when we arrived, then came out and gave a drink of the beer to each of the men. She poured it into their palms, from which they drank, and then went over to the bride to do the same. I was surprised to see the latter lap it up without making any fuss.

After this, the *Na-tri-pa* picked the bride up again and carried her into the house. As I wanted to see what was going to happen now, we left the roof from where we had been watching up to this point, and climbed down the steps to the main room, on the ground floor of the house, into which the bundle which still constituted the bride was being carried. We got there just a few seconds ahead of her, and sat down quickly at the far end in front of the window, next to the three lamas who had also settled down. Sketch 1, below, is a rough plan of our respective positions.

To our left, two of the bridegrooms, seated cross-legged on the floor, awaited their future spouse. A couple of them sufficed, it seemed, the

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so, but always two days later, and when they make their appearance, everyone on the bridegrooms' side is very polite to them, for they protest against the violent way in which their daughter has been abducted, in accordance with the best traditions. 585

We went off to lunch after that, and on returning in the afternoon, visited the private chapel of the house, the *lha-k'hang* (*lha-k'hang*), where the three lamas were busy preparing offerings which still had to be made to the gods so that the wedding should be auspicious. They had consulted the scriptures, they told us, and the things which we could see on the altar were those that they considered appropriate for this occasion. Before a large statue of Buddha, together with the usual presentations of water, grain and *tsampa* moulded *tormas* (*gTor-ma*) or dough figures, there were a leg of mutton, the arrow with the streamers to it, standing in a box of grain, which we had seen in front of the senior bridegroom at the ceremony of the previous day, and a platter upon which stood the large figure of a stag also moulded in dough, with twelve points to its antlers, surrounded by small, coloured flags and two *dos* (*mDos*) or string-cross traps for evil spirits. The lamas were most obliging and pleasant, and although we interrupted their devotions, took great pains to show us everything. They told us that the stag would be thrown away and burned before the wedding festivities had come to an end. 585 782 [789]

Next, we went up onto the roof again, attracted there by various curious visitors from Tibet who had stopped off on their way south to see what was going on in the Tolag-pa house. There we found a space filled with a lot of men from the party, sitting round the wall, while in the centre, before them, huge cauldrons of *chang* were being prepared. Upon asking, I was given to understand that the bride was shortly coming up to give flowers to each of the men in exchange for small coins which they would give her for good luck. The *chang*-girl, whom we knew from the first day, was there distributing the alcoholic beverage to all in turn, still dressed in all her finery. Below this space on the roof, I heard that there was another room for tea drinkers, and that a similar ceremony would take place there, too. 585 273

The bride did come up soon after that, and she duly distributed flowers and received money in exchange. Everybody then got very drunk on the *chang* until the lamas came out with the stag offering and threw it away into a specially built bonfire below the house, while everyone hissed loudly at the devils which were being thus destroyed. Dancing followed, the men nearly all reeling drunk, but then I was told that for [789]

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shrine of the local deity (*yül-lha*, (*Yul-lha*)), where she offers up some *chang*. His father and three of his relatives have, in the meantime, carried a large pile of *tsampa* up to the same place, and they, too, present it to the god as an offering. A lama will then draw the figure of a stag in the dust in front of the shrine, and will shoot at it with an arrow from a bow he has brought. This is supposed to kill all evil which might attack the child.

Next, when a boy is between four and five, his hair is ritually cut in a ceremony which goes by the name of *Raldag* (probably *Ral-ltag*, "long hair-neck hair"). After three days of feasting in which the whole family, their relatives and their friends take part, the child's maternal uncle (*azhang* (*a-zhang*)) shears all his nephew's hair off and takes the locks to each person present in turn. In exchange for looking at the hair, they each give a small piece of money to the parents as a lucky offering.

The first doctor whom I saw was called Sönam Tashi (*bSod-Nams-bKra-shis*) and he was a lama from a village called Bardgi. He informed me that there were quite a lot of nervous ailments in Lahul, the principal ones being epilepsy and hysteria. The first of these two appeared when the person was about fifteen years old, and he attributed the cause to alcohol. He thought, too, that it might have some connection with the high incidence of venereal diseases to be found in the valley, infections which he said had been introduced from Kulu. Hysteria often brought with it symptoms of frigidity in women and of impotence in men, and he had a number of patients suffering in this way. As a cure for epilepsy, he advocated beating with hot juniper branches. Hysteria was better cured, he thought, by administering pills made of paper upon which prayers had been written.

There was a Government Hospital at Kyelang, and on the 28th June 1938 I went there to interview its director, Dr. Bhagwan Singh. I asked him about Tibetan medicine, and who the local doctors were in Lahul. He told me that there were quite a number of them and that they went by the name of *amchi* (*Am-ch'hi* or *Aem-ch'hi*). The best among them was Katug (*Ka-bTug*) of Chelling, but there were also Tsering Norbu (*Ts'he-ring Nor-bu*) of Billing, Dön-drup (*Don-Grub*) of Kardang, and the old uncle of the Wazir, Thakur Mangal Chand, *amchi* of Kyelang, whose Tibetan name was Tashi Dawa (*bKra-shis Zla-ba*). According to Dr. Bhagwan Singh, ayurvedic medicine (although I think this was only his way of naming Tibetan medicine as distinct from the Western system) was practised, but extra to this, considerable use was made of Tibetan medicinal herbs.

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114 595 6. *Personal field-work research*

After having gathered a certain amount of theoretical information of the kind which I have given above, I felt the necessity to go out and see things for myself. I asked Nono Tse-p'hün to take me to some of the polyandrous households which he knew in the neighbourhood of Leh, and he accepted readily enough.

595 601 (i) *Visits to polyandrous households*

Consequently, on the 30th of August 1938, we visited a family living in polyandry in the immediate outskirts of the town. The name of the house was *Tok-Tok* (possibly *Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hog-T'hog*) and consisted of two brothers living polyandrously, and of two of their sons by a first wife also living in this way. I give the genealogy which I made then, in Table 27, by way of illustration.

● 789 As we approached the Tok-Tok house I noticed a *Dö* (*mDos*) string cross over the door to catch devils. I remarked upon it and heard that 342 in Ladak it is called a *namgo* (*rNam-mGo?*). The building was a typical [353] Tibetan one, with a flat roof covered with fuel for the winter arranged in packets round the edge, thick stone walls painted white, rectangular doors and windows, the lower part of the frame broader than the upper part, with coloured decorations and a piece of cloth hanging over the top part, a *lha-k'hang* (*lHa-K'hang*) or private chapel on the first floor with *chötens* visible through the window. We entered by the front gate which led into a yard and thence into a stable, from which a staircase 115 took us up to the first floor. It was there that we met the family, and had our talk with our principal informant, the eldest father and former master of the household, Lobsang Tok-Tok.

595 428 He told us that he and his brother, Ishe Döndrup, together with their eldest sister, Skalzang Rolma, were the three children of a certain Ishe Tok-Tok now dead. The sister had been married off in *bag-ma* to the now deceased son of the Par-k'hang house (meaning "Printing House"), Samten, with whom she had had no children. She had inherited the [597] property at his death, and would be holding it as long as she lived, or until the little girl she had adopted married and set herself up in the *k'hang-chen* as the heiress. This little girl belonged to the *p'ha-spun* of Skalzang Rolma's former husband and, for this reason, was entitled to inherit the Par-k'hang house.

591 595 888 Lobsang himself, a man in his sixties now, had been married polyandrously with his brother to a certain Tsering Panzom with whom they had had two children, a son called Stobgyal and a girl, Ishe Palkid.